FBIS DAILY REPORT

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COMMENTATOR CRITICIZES REAGAN 'NEW BEGINNING'

AU101620 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Feb 81 p 4

[Maria Neykova article: "Speak Rudely and Carry A Big Stick"]

[Summary] "The new Republican team has been ruling in the White House for 3 weeks, assuming power with the haughty claim of marking a 'new beginning.' Within this brief period the new administration has succeeded in implementing that beginning by a number of practical deeds and domestic and foreign policy statements. We will leave it to the Americans themselves to determine the character of this 'beginning' within their domestic policy sphere and especially within the economic sector. However, as to the international character of this beginning the tense situation in the world cannot leave us indifferent to attempts to further aggravate existing tensions and to undermine the process of international detente. We cannot remain indifferent to attempts to justify the negative American stand on the limitation of strategic weapons and on other issues which are of decisive importance for peace and security on the earth."

At the first meeting of the administration, Reagan sat between his secretary of state and his defense secretary, which symbolized the strong emphasis laid upon U.S. military strength and the "firm stand" to be adopted toward the USSR.

Last week U.S. Air Force maneuvers under the cover name of "Global Shield 81" began in the vicinity of the Pacific, and involved a tremendous number of aircraft, thousands of airmen and numerous members of the Marine Corps.

On 28 January the chief of the Pentagon declared that the United States must greatly increase its military power for the state of the U.S. Armed Forces is not even satisfactory, while the USSR military power has increased on unprecedented scales in the last 15 years. The U.S. defense secretary stated that the necessity for the United States to use its military power is becoming increasingly probable.

Gen David Jones, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, also made similar statements about the "dangerous and insecure decade" which we are now facing and pointed out the "critical imbalance" between the U.S. and Soviet military power. He recommended giving priority to the production of B-1 strategic bombers.

All these statements and actions, of course, need [illegible]ological pretexts and justifications when facing public opinion. Thus, Alexander Haig, [illegible] new secretary of state, at his press conference launched the propaganda slogan of "international terrorism," which is supposed to replace the slogan of "human rights" in the policy of the new administration. Haig claimed that "priority should be given to the struggle against terrorism and will be applied in particular in determining relations with the USSR which...is encouraging certain terrorist movements."

The leader of U.S. diplomacy was referring to the support given by the Soviet Union to the PLO, which is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and widely recognized as such. But in the opinion of official U.S. circles it is a terrorist organization. Alexander Haig also denied the right of all enslaved peoples from Namibia to El Salvador to fight for their freedom and unmistakably claimed that the behavior of the USSR will strongly "influence" the manner in which the United States will consider relations with the Soviet Union.

The next day, the President himself took the floor and addressed attacks against the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union. He accused the Soviet leaders of "perfidy," stating that their intention is to transform the whole world into a communist state. Referring to SALT II negotiations, Reagan stated that negotiations cannot be conducted without taking into consideration all the other things that are happening away from the table of these negotiations.

"These are assertions whose gross, provocational essence is not subjected to any comment. Obviously, a new, intentional political diversion is about to start. The new campaign is pursuing very precise goals, namely to discredit the Soviet Union in the face of the international public, to distort the essence of national liberation and revolutionary movements in the world and to ensure a green light for American "diktat" on a worldwide scale in all international affairs." As a matter of fact, the authors of this campaign should learn from their predecessors, for as we know, the famous "human rights" campaign adopted by President Carter turned into a boomerang against him and his administration. The U.S. position on the issue of "international terrorism" is even more vulnerable, because everybody knows about the U.S. involvement in numerous sinister CIA plots, assassinations and conspiracies within the country and abroad. Thus, anyone can easily identify the United States as "a true center of terrorism."

Reagan's and Haig's statements brought back the memories of the most sinister epoch of the "cold war" and the Western mass media and press agencies commentaries found out that there is nothing new about the foreign policy approach of the Reagan administration. On the contrary, it is spreading the seeds of a dangerous relapse.

"In reviving the American foreign policy practice from the "cold war" period the gross propaganda campaign that has been launched has nothing in common with a 'new beginning.' It only diminishes the future prospects in international life for a trend toward security and understanding. However, the supporters of rough talk and the big stick should never forget that they are facing objective processes, which least of all, depend upon their aspirations for power."

ASSISTANT TO IRANIAN PRIME MINISTER PAYS VISIT

Meeting With Zhivkov

AU091450 Sofia BTA in English 1327 GMT 9 Feb 81

[Text] Sofia, 9 Feb (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, received Mr Abdullah Hasebi, assistant to the prime minister of Iran. Questions of bilateral interest were discussed at the meeting.

Mr Abdullah Hasebi met today Mr Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs.

Press Conference

AU092056 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 9 Feb 81

[Text] Abdullah Hasebi, assistant to the prime minister of Iran, met representatives of the Sofia mass media today. At the meeting the Iranian guest dealt with certain issues of Iran's foreign and domestic policy and with the development of Bulgarian-Iranian relations. Later on Abdullah Hasebi left our country.

PREMIER TODOROV RECEIVES BANGLADESH MINISTER

AU101652 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Comrade Stanko Todorov has received Chowdhury Tanzir Ahmed Siddiqui, minister of state and minister for commerce of Bangladesh. Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign trade, also attended the talks.

REPORTAGE, COMMENT ON POLISH TU DEVELOPMENTS

Comment on PZPR Session

LD101750 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Station commentary]

[Text] Commenting on the results of the eighth meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, a Radio Prague news analyst says those who expected sensations from the eighth meeting of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party waited in vain. True, the Central Committee accepted the resignation of Political Bureau member Jozef Pinkowski from the premiership and decided to submit to parliament the nomination of Political Bureau member Wojciech Jaruzelski as Poland's new premier, but this change in the Polish Government leadership came as no surprise. After all, developments over the past weeks had shown that the Polish Government headed by Jozef Pinkowski had failed to take consistent measures against the increasing expressions of antisocialism in Poland. Indeed these facts were contained in the main speech delivered at yesterday's meeting by Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Grabski. He said that expressions of anarchy are now threatening the interests of the Polish nation and that the process of disintegration in society and the state is deepening. He said that antisocialist forces, especially people around the so-called committee for social and political self-defense corps, pursue only one aim: To legalize in Poland the activity of political parties with an antisocialist orientation and to increase efforts to liquidate socialism in Poland.

It has also been confirmed that the union Solidarity is to be an opposition political force. This so-called independent trade union, or rather its leadership with Lech Walesa at the head, is misusing Polish workers and instead of genuine trade union activities is bent on putting forward unrealistic demands on overt blackmail. At the same time it has none other than political aims, and this is proved, for example, by the provocative strike in Jelenia Gora declared on the very day when the party's Central Committee was meeting.

It is clear, however, that the chaos and destabilization, the strikes and the efforts to discredit Polish communists only worsen Poland's economic difficulties. The economic situation is deteriorating day by day and the losses caused by the strikes already amount to Z88 billion. This is the value of 10 days of complete industrial output throughout the whole country. Polish factories and organizations are not meeting their commitments towards foreign partners and especially agreements signed in the framework of the CMEA, the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance.

There is only one way out of the situation. Instead of coming up with unrealistic demands and instead of using the platform of the trade unions for political blackmail there must be a return to regular work and the step by step removal of the consequences of the past months. The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party is also convinced of the necessity of this road. The Central Committee lays stress on achieving the political unity of trade unions while the leading role of the party is respected, of a party which must be ideologically firm and which in this way will maintain the confidence of the working people. As Tadeusz Grabski said in his speech yesterday, to take Poland out of the crisis will be possible only provided that the working class, farmers and intellectuals, all the working people, take an active part in fulfilling this very difficult task. The present situation in Poland poses a choice between chaos and disintegration leading to the dismantling of people's power and the strengthening of socialist democracy, the only guarantor of genuine reconstruction. Every Polish citizen faces this choice. As far as the Polish United Workers' Party is concerned, its Central Committee meeting yesterday showed that the party is determined resolutely to fight the enemies of socialism in Poland.

Rural Solidarity Issue

LD101235 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] An agreement has been reached in Warsaw today between a government commission and a delegation of Walesa's trade union organization according to which the provocative strike in Jelenia Gora should be terminated. The strike was provoked by leaders of Walesa's trade union organization despite the fact that they were informed previously that talks with a government delegation were to be renewed. The provocateurs also disregarded the fact that the PZPR Central Committee on that very Monday was discussing problems concerning trade union movement.

A session of the Polish Supreme Court opened in Warsaw today with the issue concerning registration of the so-called Rural Solidarity, which is to become a tool with which to smash the existing peasants self-governing organization and with which to spread unrest and tension in the Polish countryside. The initiators of this splinter movement today have brought into Warsaw by chartered buses from various parts of the country groups of people from the countryside who are to be used as a means of pressure to influence the decision of the Supreme Court.

Bielsko-Biala Visit

AU101721 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 9 Feb 81 p 4

[Article by RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA Warsaw correspondents Jan Lipavsky and Miloslav Vitek: "On Solidarity's Ultimatums; Truth About the Strike in the Bielsko Voivodship"]

[Text] We arrived on Thursday, 5 February when the general strike in the Bielsko Voivodship culminated. The newspapers of that day noted that production losses have already exceeded Z3 billion, to say nothing of the immense losses of enterprises in other parts of the country cooperating with the Bielsko Voivodship enterprises. We too were overwhelmed by an oppressive feeling. The city of Bielsko-Biala did not resemble in the least one of the country's most popular resorts. Vacationers had escaped the oppressive atmosphere.

Everywhere there were masses of leaflets with "Solidarity's" demands to instantaneously recall some functionaries of the voivodship and city national councils. Here and there appeals were pulled down and torn apart. There were three people in particular whom the people from "Solidarity" did not like--the voivoda and his two deputies. Some people believe that they were right because not everything that the voivoda and his deputies have been doing was exactly in keeping with regulations. Others, in turn, are saying quietly that because of the enormous material losses caused by the general strike to recall them, the whole action is pure nonsense for which each Pole will have to pay dearly.

For 10 working days 60,000 people stood idly about. That is how long the general strike lasted.

On the morning of 6 February an agreement was signed on its termination.

A chronicle of the events is testimony against "Solidarity's" methods.

Somewhere around the middle of November last year that organization from the Podbeskidy area came up with the categorical demand to recall state and party officials from their posts. On 24 November the voivodship national council set up an 11-member commission to inquire into "Solidarity's" "indictment." The commission included four representatives of the so-called independent trade unions. The conclusions reached by the commission were to serve as a basis for the negotiations and final decision by the voivodship national council.

The rub is, however, that precisely on that day--24 November--"Solidarity" delegates from the voivodship's individual plants met in the Bewelana enterprise. The local weekly KRONIKA wrote about that:

After presenting the charges, the original demand for cadre changes was dropped--from now on the cadre changes were to concern only state bodies. The demand for the resignation of party officials was thus abandoned.

The reader can interpret that as blackmail: We will not demand that party officials resign if you provide the guarantee that the voivoda, his deputies and a few more people will go.

The aforementioned 11-member commission began its work. On 23 January, after 26 sessions, the "final draft of the investigation results" was signed. A session of the voivodship national council was convened for 30 January. However, on 22 January a meeting of "Solidarity" delegates decided that if negotiations with the government did not start by Monday 26 January, "Solidarity" would declare a so-called warning 1-hour strike. Should that warning prove to the ineffective, it would declare a general strike. The government plenipotentiary explained in vain to the "Solidarity" leadership: The whole affair can be decided with final validity only by the plenum of the voivodship national council--and that only within the statutory deadline from the date of convening it. Even the premier of the Polish People's Republic drew attention to the fact in information media that the commission's conclusions will be assessed in accordance with the regulations of the law on national councils and in no other way and that it is necessary to maintain calm and order if personnel issues are to be justly dealt with. He demanded an end to the strike and invited all members of the commission to Warsaw, including its four members of "Solidarity." But they turned the invitation down.... Why?

The game that "Solidarity" began to play with local bodies and the government was going on well, so why go to Warsaw? The government had to fall on its knees: They would wait until Monday, 26 January, and would declare a warning strike. The "pressure" on the government and local bodies went on: On 27 January they went over to a general strike. The euphoria of lust for power and confrontation with the government was culminating.

The plight of hundreds of thousands of citizens began. The lines in front of the stores became longer; [the standstill of] the city and interurban transportation doomed tens of thousands of people to curtailment of their freedom of movement; many services had to give up and close their shutters; movie houses and theaters had to count on cultural life being frozen.... People we happened to talk to in the streets of Bielsko-Biala either warmly approved of "Solidarity's" course of action or were putting their fingers to their mouths: Watch out, lest someone is listening to us--those who do not march with "Solidarity" are being harassed.

Editor A. Otczyk from the local weekly KRONIKA had courage and asked P. Kosmowski, chairman of the Podbeskidy "Solidarity," and A. Zajac, committee member of the same organization: "Why are you, as trade unionists, striving to bring about personnel changes in the voivodship bodies?"

"We want to be active in an atmosphere of remedy," Mr Kosmowski answered, "but because there is no actual remedy in our voivodship we have arrived at the only conclusion--a change of functionaries represents the way out."

"Do you not think that you should have waited for the results of the voivodship national council session?" A. Otczyk asked further.

"No," was A. Zajac's categorical answer, "we have started the whole thing and we want to bring it to the end."

We, we, we--they do not see and do not want to respect anyone else, even though the local bodies' patience appears to know no limits. Members of the Secretariat of the PZPR voivodship committee are coming to the Bewelana enterprise--where "Solidarity" put up its "military tent" during the general strike--asking for a continuation of talks before the voivodship national council convenes and adopts a decision.

No!

The first secretary of the party's voivodship committee therefore, telephones Warsaw asking whether the minister in charge, Kepa, would receive a "Solidarity" delegation. But "Solidarity" Chairman Kosmowski resolutely demands: The government commission must come here, to Bielsko-Biala, and not the Bielsko commission to Warsaw.

That is the time when L. Walesa joined the "game." By telephone he conducts consultations with the Podbeskidy "Solidarity." It seems, according to a report for the press, as if the Bielsko-Biala s. ike was to be discontinued on Walesa's advice. However, at the same time the strike is expanded, encompassing additional plants.

On 30 January a session of the voivodship national council discusses the results of the commission's work. In a secret ballot 61 out of 123 deputies express confidence in the voivod, 57 do not, and 5 abstain from voting. That is a signal for "Solidarity" to step up pressure, to ignore the outcome of the ballot, to disregard the stance of deputies, legitimate representatives of the people. Telegrams from various parts of the country in support of the Podbeskidy "Solidarity's" demand to recall without any delay the voivod from his post are being arranged; the arrival of "Solidarity" delegates from various voivodships is being organized....

The tension is coming to a head. The general strike continues. L. Walesa personally arrived on 3 February and even takes a place at the roundtable with the government commission, even though--according to Solidarity's regulations--he has no right to do so because if the Podbeskidy "Solidarity" is "independent and self-governing," then the national coordinating commission, including its chairman, is not entitled to get involved in disputes concerning exclusively regional "Solidarity" organizations. Or does this action of the Podbeskidy "Solidarity" in Walesa's presence have perhaps broader, nationwide implications? Is it perhaps to be some sort of an instruction or signal for settling accounts with those who have fallen into "Solidarity's" disfavor?

On 3 February Walesa came and negotiated. But he somewhat forgot his previous appeal--to discontinue the general strike. A few hours after his arrival he said in straightforward terms: We will wait for the new voivod and will advise him on how to proceed. It sounds as though "Solidarity" wanted to take over the management of people's power bodies and make decisions on the composition of their cadres. It seems as though it wanted to bar the government from implementing its law-given authority and rights with regard to bodies of people's power.

On the morning of 6 February the news spread from the Bewelana enterprise that the general strike ended. The radio announced that it happened with the assistance of the Polish Episcopate, which sent to Bielsko-Biala a delegation led by Bishop Bronislaw Dabrowski. According to Saturday reports of Western information media, Bishop Dabrowski "drew the two sides' disparate views closer."

That happened, in fact, on the eve of the eighth PZPR Central Committee session. "Solidarity" can be satisfied. The premier finally accepted the resignation of the voivoda and his deputies. On Saturday, 7 February the daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote: A feeling of enormous and general relief set in. When the mass began, the club room and the hall of the Bewelana enterprise were filled to the last place....

We paid a visit to "Solidarity's" "general staff." There were young faces all over the place, everyone up to the age of 30. People older than that were an exception. It is evident that Mr Kosmowski is not pleased when he sees us. He is not enthusiastic about talking to us.

"Why did you not subordinate to Walesa's appeal and not end the general strike before the agreement was signed?" We ask and add "to say nothing of the premier's appeal, which you obviously ignored?"

"There can be no question of subordinating to the national commission because only we, as the regional commission, are entitled to decide about our affairs. The national commission does not have the right."

"Who is then, in fact, poiating out the direction of your activity?" we ask further. "There are, after all, some all-state interests which you have, are there not?"

"What sort of all-state interests; what is, in fact, a state?" Kosmowski wonders. "We represent workers and not the state," he stresses. "The state is not a worker."

"But surely this is not so!" we retorted with astonishment. "That would mean, in your view, that you arbitrarily separate the worker you want to represent from the social system in which he lives and works."

"The worker lives in his homeland," Kosmowski says. "We do not identify the worker with the state."

"How come? After all, this state guarantees that the worker is also the owner of the basic assets..."

Mr Engineer Kosmowski did not let us finish. "You want to claim the worker is the owner of the basic assets? The state is the owner," he says.

We are going from one surprise to another. Those people, mostly technicians, are leading an organization that is orally proclaiming its allegiance to socialism. By then a group of curious people began to surround us. It was a rather sad discussion. They are people who were born in People's Poland, but either do not understand political reality or mix up basic political ideas. But at the same time they keep stressing that they operate within the framework of the socialist system, that they acknowledge the party's leading role in society and so forth. Yet in plant directors they see almost factory owners, owners of basic assets. In bodies of people's power they see some sort of a foreign power and in the officials of those bodies "enemies of workers," while presenting themselves as their sole representatives.

How wonderfully all this suits those who manipulate the "Solidarity" members! But not everyone succumbs to those manipulators. Often they think differently from their leaders.

We ask: "Tell us, have all your members yielded to the decision of the 'Solidarity' leadership to strike?"

"Certainly."

"But in the automobile works they have not, after all. They refused to strike."

"That is slander, you must have heard it from the radio."

"No," we retort, "we heard it from people there who really did not want to strike."

They declined to answer even though it is known that, after their refusal to obey, the members of the "Solidarity" leadership in the automobile works were immediately replaced.

Time was passing and it became more and more evident that a dialogue with some of them might be possible, after all. Two or three of them agreed with our misgivings concerning "Solidarity's" character, with misgivings that ultimately it might be turned into something utterly different from what rank-and-file members desire and want. They agreed that there are programmed pressure groups exerting an influence on "Solidarity" from within and from without, that those groups are involved with extremists and anarchists, that cases of politicking and competing among the chieftains of "Solidarity" have become known and that sooner or later it will be necessary to dissociate oneself from people such as Jacek Kuron (leader of the antistate, illegal organization known under its acronym KOR) if "Solidarity" is to be what it had defined in its statutes.

At that moment it did not seem that all the young people are inaccessible to truth and logical arguments. Instead we had the impression that no competent people are discussing such issues with them. And it is precisely ideological immaturity and confusion, lack of political experience and, frequently, naivete from which various bankrupt and "formerly oppressed" individuals--along with outright enemies of People's Poland--would like to profit. After some time they would like to turn the trade union pluralism in Poland into a political pluralism.

We are returning to Warsaw. The radio reports: In Jelenia Gora the protest strike of a group of 200 representatives of "Solidarity" plant organizations continues; the state of strike alert in Wroclaw persists; in Rzeszow sharp negotiations are underway with strikers on the so-called Rural "Solidarity." The strikers are being assisted by a hunger strike in the St Joseph's Church in Swidnica. Added to all that is another explosion of tension that might afflict the whole country. The Walbrzych Voivodship is threatening new strikes.

One would like to ask: "What will 'Solidarity's' next ultimatums be? Whose turn will it be after Bielsko-Biala...?"

APN Commentary

AU101300 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Feb 81 p 2

[Article by Vladimir Nakaryakov, APN: "Subversion Against Poland Continues"]

[Text] For some time an avalance of propaganda has been descending on Poland. Declarations have been sent, as have advice and even direct instructions, all addressed to anti-socialist elements in Poland itself and aimed at intensifying the country's destabilization.

It is typical that the enemies of the worker class, who unexpectedly turned around 180 degrees, have now changed into ardent workers' advocates. They have started to promise all kinds of support and to send money "to assist the strikers." Even Franz Josef Strauss, the well-known revanchist-type reactionary and defender of the interests of the FRG's military-industrial complex, has appealed for solidarity with the Polish strikers and suggested that "they be given a considerable sum of money." All this appeared to be a badly camouflaged attempt to influence the course of events and to turn them in an anti-socialist direction. "This is not the first instance," J. West, member of the U.S. Communist Party's leadership, wrote in the WORLD MAGAZINE periodical, "that the enemies of the workers class are meddling, and manipulating the workers' complaints to the disadvantage of the interests of the workers themselves."

Many representatives of the NATO pact countries have expressed their opinions on the situation in Poland. Their words appealed for noninterference in Polish internal affairs, but were in fact a continuation of subversive activities aimed at shattering the social-state system in the Polish People's Republic and at disrupting its international ties.

Three outside forces have become particularly active. The CIA, which has mobilized all subversive centers for the anti-Polish propaganda campaign, including the "free" AFL-CIO trade unions; the revanchist circles in the FRG which are dreaming about "greater Germany"; and groups of emigrants who became bankrupt long ago, but who nevertheless are still suffering from nostalgia. All these forces have merged into one stream and are operating according to a uniform plan.

Quite a lot has already been written about the revanchists' claims on Polish territory. As though to whet their appetites, West German television has begun broadcasting a series called "Flight and Expulsion," which falsely and slantedly tells about the "terrible fate of German refugees" in Poland and other socialist countries. "The revanchists in the FRG," the Polish newspaper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI writes about this film, "are nurturing the illusory hope that the events in Poland will disrupt the existing correlation of forces in the world and rid the country of the defensive shield of the Warsaw Pact. This, of course, will never happen; nobody will succeed in setting Poland at loggerheads with our brothers and neighbors."

In one of the Victorian villas in London, from time to time figures emerge from a naphthalenic cloud, who call themselves the "Polish Government in exile." It includes the "president"--Prince Edward Radzinskij, and the "premier"--someone called Kazimierz Sabbat.

This is the same government that had found refuge in Britain after the war and for 17 years was shamelessly striving to appropriate precious historical relics and works of art belonging to the Polish people. At the beginning of World War II, these works were saved from pilfering by the Hitlerites and brought to Canada. Only as late as 1962 did the legitimate government of People's Poland succeed in getting the national treasures back and in installing them in Wavel Castle.

Now the former aristocrats and landowners have again appeared on frontstage, and are busy milking the emigrant groups of pounds and dollars, marks and francs, to "help" the Polish workers. For this, they are using various "institutes," "centers" and "associations." This "help" is intended exclusively to serve subversive aims.

It is no coincidence that recently a man called J. Gronowski, who heads the "Polish scientific U.S. institute," was entrusted with the political leadership of the radio stations "Liberty" and "Free Europe." These branches of the CIA have received an important task in the anti-Polish plot. The distorted idea of the situation in Poland, which is being intentionally created by the Western imperialist propaganda, is calculated to impress the citizens of Polish origin living in capitalist countries. In the times of bourgeois Poland their grandfathers and fathers had emigrated to the West in search of work and bread. Now there are 6.5 million of them in the United States, and 80,000 in such a small country as Belgium. Most of these people sincerely wish to help their fellow countrymen, relatives and friends to overcome the economic difficulties; but they do not know that the means they have gathered are actually being used by forces hostile to socialism for further destabilizing the situation in the country. These means are being illegally brought to Poland by "businessmen," "journalists" and "tourists" travelling to Poland, who then hand them over to the antisocialist groups and elements.

The same method is being used by American trade union bosses from the AFL-CIO,which is closely bound to the CIA, and also from other unions.

Douglas Fraser, chairman of the U.S. United Auto Workers Union (Detroit, the capital of the automobile industry, has a particularly large number of workers of Polish origin), said cynically, "We do not want the communist top echelon (in Poland--V.N.) to declare: 'You see, these are actually not workers' actions, this is an imperialist, capitalist plot.' That is why everything we have done, we have done without any great clamor." A similar testimony was published also by NEWSWEEK: "Assistance of a more political nature--the means sent to dissident groups and to trade union leaders--is being granted through unofficial channels." It is no secret what the dissidents' groups, including those that penetrated "Solidarity," want to achieve: to dismantle socialism in Poland and to start restoring capitalism. "The trade unions need capitalism like a fish needs water." They hear from overseas, for instance from David Dubinski, chairman of the U.S. United Garment Workers of America (a part of the AFL-CIO). Leszek Moculski, leading figure in the so-called "Confederation of Independent Poland," is proclaiming approximately the same thing.

For the time being, the antisocialist forces in Poland need pluralism, the free political game. They are using diverse tools for this, including extortion, threats and various machinations. For instance, in elections for the local "Solidarity" organization's committee in the combine-producing plant in Plock city, only one of the 37 people elected was a worker.

Time and again I was able to observe how tourists who had come to Poland from the FRG inspected with a master's eye the individual and cooperative farms, farm buildings, fields and orchards they had ruled over in the past. And the eastern voivodships are often visited by former aristocrats and landowners, from whose estates the Polish farmers used to flee to other countries in search of bread.

Or do the present chieftains of Polish antisocialist groups actually want to drag all those former counts and princes and their followers into the "free political game" bordering on adventurism?

PZPR Determined To Fight

LD102200 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Commentary by Pavel Kopecky, special correspondent in Warsaw]

[Text] In the last few weeks developments in Poland have been observed with justified concern not only by the Polish public. Representatives of the Committee for Social Self-Defense, known under the initials KOR, have settled down in Walesa's trade unions and they are now anxious to gain leading positions there. They are wrapping their efforts to liquidate the socialist system in Poland in insincere cliches about improving socialism and now hope that by organizing tension and destabilizing the internal situation they will create conditions in which the process of socialist renewal, advocated by the PZPR, can be used to attain objectives which have nothing in common with socialism.

As we pointed out at yesterday's eighth plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee, even certain leaders of Walesa's trade unions are succumbing to such dangerous trends. On the instructions of KOR and with generous material aid from subversive anticommunist centers in the West and against the interests of the majority of all Polish working people, they are questioning the leading role of the party, organizing unscrupulous campaigns against party and state officials, attempting to discredit workers of the militia and threatening that there will be a bloody settling of accounts. Under their plans the so-called independent Solidarity trade union is to be transformed into an opposition political party.

All this is appraised in the report of the Politburo at the eighth plenary session of the party's Central Committee as an exceedingly dangerous state of affairs. The basic achievements of socialism are in danger.

As a result of strikes the country is threatened by an economic catastrophe. The enemies of socialism are leading the trade union movement, which emerged last summer, toward counterrevolution.

The analysis of the current developments, contained in the report of the Politburo, is vast and points to the danger created for Poland by increasingly active antisocialist elements.

The forces working toward overturning the socialist development of the country have been unveiled clearly and in no roundabout way. Simultaneously, the main topical tasks confronting the party, its members and the Polish working people in overcoming the profound sociopolitical and economic crisis have been mapped out. It was pointed out--and this is most significant--that Poland is an important link in the socialist community and its defense system, and that any threat to socialism in Poland or a weakening of its ties with the socialist countries would jeopardize the balance of forces in the world and endanger detente and peace.

The reports and all speeches in the discussion reveal the unbreakable determination to continue building socialism while at the same time consistently defending its principles against all enemies, against attacks from antisocialist positions. This requires a number of prerequisites: The party must dissociate itself from quarrels which are often introduced from outside and which are paralyzing internal party life and it must muster its forces and launch an uncompromising struggle for a socialist social system, for the respect of people's power, and for the isolation of the enemies of socialism. But it must also strive for normal work and a normal work pace in all branches of the Polish national economy.

According to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, the party's line is a well-considered socialist renewal which, however, can only be achieved in an atmosphere of calm, and this can only be brought about by the systematic removal of all elements threatening the very existence of socialism. Comrade Kania said: We shall defend socialism as though we are defending the independence of Poland. Let us add that under the present conditions this is a historic task not only of Polish communists, but also of the Polish working class and the whole of Polish society.

Review of 11 Feb Events

LD110011 Prague Domestic Television Service in Czech and Slovak 2045 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Here is a telephone dispatch from our correspondent Richard Pokorny from Warsaw whom I asked 30 minutes ago to give us a brief summary of today's events in Poland:

I (?took down) the various events in chronological order so that first of all let's start this morning when there were long lines outside newsstands to buy papers containing the speech by Tadeusz Grabski at yesterday's eighth plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee about the socialist character of the trade unions in Poland. The report discussed the most topical questions and problems which every Pole encounters every day.

Second, I must mention the report by the Polish news agency, announcing that the Supreme Court today refused to register the so-called Rural Solidarity, an organization invented away from the Polish countryside by people who are trying to form an utterly illogical hybrid with the aim of attacking the socialist system of the national economy. And here is something else: I was outside the Supreme Court while it was in session. I saw a type of people standing there with various slogans who were trying to create some sort of atmosphere there.

As I glanced at them I think that one could count the number of farmers on the fingers of one hand. Most of them were young people, some of whom constitute a keen audience to those who are working toward counterrevolutionary objectives. I think that this is another experience so typical for the Poland of today.

And third: Despite all the appeals a strike took place at Jelenia Gora today, students at Lodz were also on strike. In other words, one can see that despite all the warnings, forces still exist for whom chaos and tension are the best conditions for their very existence.

And what is expected tomorrow? Tomorrow's main event will be a session of the Polish Sejm which opens at 1400. The main item on the agenda will be a report on the economic reform. Changes in the office of the premier are also expected as well as in the composition of the Council of Ministers.

LENART RECEIVES SOVIET GOSPLAN DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

LD110942 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received today in Bratislava Nikolay Slyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR State Planning Committee. In the course of the conversation Comrade Jozef Lenart acquainted the guest with the main directions of the further development of the national economy of the Slovak Socialist Republic in the framework of a unified Czechoslovak economy. Special attention was paid to the possibilities of an accelerated realization of the program laid down by the 20th session of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation.

OFFICIALS ATTEND MEETING WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR

LD101456 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Employees of the production unit at the heavy engineering works presented a collective socialist pledge to Aleksandr Botvin, the Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia, in Martin today. They made the pledge in honor of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 16th CPCZ Congress. A meeting with leading employees was attended by Miloslav Hruskivic, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and Josef Haman, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other representatives.

BRIEFS

SEMINAR ON DEMOCRACY--A 2-day Slovakia-wide seminar on "Socialist Democracy in the Phase of CSSR Advanced Socialist Society" began in Bratislava on 29 January. The purpose of the seminar is to acquaint the lecturers of the central committees of the Slovak National Front organizations with the "basic principles of the development of socialist democracy in the current stage" in view of the approaching elections into representative bodies. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jan 81 p 2 AU]

WORKING CONSULTATION--A 2-day working consultation of ranking personnel of the Institutes of Marxism-Leninism attached to university-level schools and departments of social sciences ended in Casta on 29 January. The consultation was devoted to "topical theoretical and practical issues pertaining to the construction of an advanced socialist society, to the results of scientific research work and, in particular, to the experience and findings arising from the fulfillment of the tasks of the uniform program of social sciences after the 15th CPCZ Congress." [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jan 81 p 2 AU]

PZPR PLENUM SPEAKERS CITED ON ANTISOCIALIST FORCES

LD102324 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1407 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Feb (ADN)--In his speech at the eighth plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee, Tadeusz Grabski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said that the social-political and economic crisis in the country was growing more acute. This has caused "tremendous losses, no longer only material losses." He continued: "The strikes are escalating and social tension, chaos and economic destabilization are growing. The manifestations of anarchy are directed against the nation's interest. The process of the disintegration of society and the state is deepening." He referred to the martalling of antisocialist forces who "are systematically attacking socialism." The spreading wave of anarchy, disregard for the law and social rules, and questioning the structures and institutions of the state was deeply disquieting.

The forces opposing socialism were "people who have long represented the anticommunist line." In this connection he named the counterrevolutionary grouping KOR [Workers Social Self-Defense Committee] and its leading ideologists and officials, Kuron, Michnik and Maciarewicz. There was evidence of attempts to revive the solutions and program of political parties of the Polish rightwing. The opponents of socialism were in fact trying to drag Poland back into a social and political system which not so long ago brought a great tragedy for Poland.

"It is understandable that the activity of these forces and groupings is receiving ardent support from anticommunist centers in the West which, besides material, financial and political assistance, are making available to them their instruments of ideological influence and diversion. Destabilizing social and economic relations, attempts to dismantle the state, political chaos--these are the means of achieving their goal." Poland is an important member of the community of socialist states, he states, its defense system, its economic standing and political-moral unity; the weakening of Poland and the loosening of its ties with the socialist community would dangerously rock and destabilize the balance of forces in the world, particularly in Europe. It would endanger the process of detente and peace. No Pole must forget that the national interests of his country are closely tied to the overall system of socialism. So it is not only the duty of the PZPR to confront any steps by the opponents of socialism, but it is also a matter of the best interests of the nation, a concern of all the people.

Tadeusz Grabski dealt at length with the situation of the trade unions in the Polish People's Republic. He said that all the socialist gains of the past decade in People's Poland have been the product in part of the active trade union movement.

What we are seeing at present is an organizational fragmentation of the trade union movement. But the PZPR takes the position that the movement's political unity should be maintained. The branch trade unions have taken over the experience of the class-based trade union movement and are developing it by applying its ideals and making use of the social and political gains.

Tadeusz Grabski dealt with "dangerous tendencies" in the activity of Solidarity. He pointed out that its leaders and "advisers" have in the past fought against socialism and the PZPR and are keen on pushing Solidarity toward "destructive action, adventurism, and, ultimately, counterrevolution." Operating with mendacious slogans and demagogy, Solidarity is being exploited ever more overtly as a forum for propagating views hostile to socialism. The party's leading role in the state is being called into question. Attempts are being made to undermine the authority of the government, to oust representatives of party and state organs in many regions, to discredit the apparatus of the militia, security service and investigation authorities. At the same time an atmosphere of psychological threats to leading cadres has been created in enterprises, a campaign of threatening party activists and intimidating party officials.

The strikes of political character with political aims, organized by Solidarity, have nothing in common with trade union work and constitute a flagrant provocation. "The strategic aim of these activities is to create conditions to destroy the socialist set-up, to dismantle the people's state and introduce anarchy and thereafter political pluralism, which will serve counterrevolutionary designs. This represents a dangerous threat to the social foundations of our state. It attacks the interests of the working class." The state will not shrink from using the law to protect its interests against attacks mounted from an antisocialist platform.

Solidarity is facing the key question of its development: whether it will take the path of escalating demands and maintaining a state of tension, or a path of active participation in extricating the country from its difficult plight. The PZPR's relationship with Solidarity depends on an answer to these fundamental questions. Grabski came out against the attempts by Solidarity leaders to create so-called Rural Solidarity aimed at turning the countryside into an arena of acute political struggle against the people's power.

It emerged from Grabski's speech that the strikes instigated by the counterrevolutionary forces have led to a loss of production in the second half of 1980 totaling 88 billion zloty. This is as much as if the whole of Polish industry was idle for 10 days. "The country's economic situation is deteriorating badly. Particularly bad results were reported by industry in January 1981 when output declined by almost 228 billion zloty." Poland is failing to fulfill its long-term trade agreements and is harming its partners, above all the CEMA countries.

In conclusion Tadeusz Grabski dealt with questions relating to the strengthening of the activity and unity of the party. He stressed: "Everything that serves to strengthen the party's power and thus internal party democracy and political unity of action will have a favorable impact on the transformation of the economy and the state and is a basic condition for it."

He continued: "Without a strong party there will be no strong state. We need joint action to strengthen the Leninist norms of inner party life, democratic centralism and the democratic foundations of the activity and organizational structure of the party. It is our common duty to resolutely overcome all tendencies directed against the unity of the party and its ideological and political cohesion."

When a PZPR member opts for the trade union of his choice, he has to realize as a communist "that it is his first and foremost duty to represent the party's ideology and program. In view of the manifestations in some Solidarity organizations of struggle against socialism, attempts to dismantle the authorities and the state and violations of the law, party members have the duty to confront this hostile activity." Where socialism is in jeopardy there can be no compromise between the duties of party and trade union discipline.

We must preserve the party from opportunist and social-liberal, indeed anarchic, tendencies, from inertia and defeatism as well as from narrowminded, dogmatic thinking. PZPR members must staunchly confront all attempts to discredit the party, its members, its activity and apparatus.

He stressed the duty of party organizations, their leading organs and all party members to react to antiparty and nationalist statements, leaflets and slogans no matter from what quarters they come. He appealed to all PZPR members and candidate members to actively uphold socialist ideology and party principles in the trade unions and to strengthen the socialist character of the trade unions. "The party's role and the attitude of its members are of fundamental importance now. They are invaluable since the party bears the responsibility for socialism."

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, also dealt in his speech with the counterrevolutionary activities of Solidarity leaders. He said: "A considerable number of Solidarity leaders are keeping up tensions and inflaming them because they regard them as constant instruments of pressure on the state and of shaking up supporters."

He referred to the incitement against the party, attacks against party and state officials and attempts to intimidate party officials. The basic aim was "to paralyze the power apparatus and to further undermine discipline, to smash the structures of the socialist state and our party." The aim is to push society further in the direction of anarchy. Factory staffs are being subjected to a kind of strike terror. "We must not condone attacks on our party under the guise of the trade unions, nor propaganda which is contrary to the political interests of the state."

The entire party has to actively oppose these tendencies and pretensions, he said.

In his speech Kazimierz Barcikowski dealt with the deteriorating living standards and the worsening supply position. He then spoke on foreign policy and Poland's external economic relations, stressing the role of the people's republic within the socialist community. In this connection he said: "The concern of our friends about the weaknesses of internal stability in our country, the stand of antisocialist forces and manifestations which threaten to plunge socialist economic life into anarchy is understandable." Poland is and will remain a socialist country which knows its alliances and obligations. "At the same time we declare that all conscious political forces in our country must unconditionally fight against any activity by antisocialist forces designed to question Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries and which violates the vital interests of the people."

"There can be no place in Poland's social life for political madmen and persons devoid of any political responsibility," he said.

A loss of foreign confidence in the Polish economy can be observed. This derives from the fact that "soon nothing will be left from which something can be produced. Soon there will be no need for strikes and free Saturdays, nor for enterprises and whole sectors of industry to be idle." In this connection he paid tribute to the deliveries and assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In conclusion he said: "Today it is absolutely essential to bring about a change in social relations and to restrain the destructive and antisocialist forces which are plunging our country into an abyss."

PAP reports that 25 members and candidate members of the Central Committee spoke in the debate at the eighth plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee. They commented on the reports given by the Politburo members and Central Committee Secretaries Tadeusz Grabski and Kazimierz Barcikowski, declared their readiness to cooperate with Solidarity where possible and emphasized that it must be criticized and fought whenever it harms socialism.

Aubin Szyszka, chairman of the coordinating commission of the industrial branch trade unions, said that the pressure groups with a markedly political character must not be confused with the independent responsible trade union movement. Hendryk Bedanarski, first PZPR secretary of Bydgoszsz Voivodship said: "The branch unions that firmly support the socialist system and acknowledge the leading role of the Marxist party in state and society are our natural allies."

In this connection coremaker Zygmund Wronski from the Ursus factory in Warsaw described the registration of Solidarity as a mistake by the government. Jozef Adamek, a miner from Walbrzych, demanded that the government should consult society and all trade unions over all decisions to implement further demands. Stafan Zawodzinski, first PZPR secretary of Bialystok Voivodship, said that understanding, patience and sympathy were needed for the workers' core of Solidarity, which was a new movement without tradition and experience. At the same time Wladyslaw Kandefer, first PZPR secretary of Krosno Voivodship, pointed out that Solidarity had for some time been circulating in the area publications which slandered the socialist state and the party.

Foreman Jozef Janiszewski from Lublin asked whether the strike organizers realized that strikes cannot improve the lives of the working people. The splitting of workers into members of the branch unions and Solidarity meant the disappearance of the forms of socialist life from industry.

In the course of the discussion Boguslaw Stachvra, vice minister of internal affairs, said that antisocialist forces saw their chance in Solidarity to foist on it their programs which are far removed from the true interests of the working class. Advised by members of the counterrevolutionary group KOR, they have been successful as is shown in the escalation of demands.

Andrzej Zabinski, Politburo member of the PZPR Central Committee and first provincial party secretary in Katowice, and the welder Jan Labecki of the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk called for the postponement of the Ninth special PZPR Congress.

In view of the merciless attacks by the counterrevolutionary opponent, the party and people's power must not retreat further, Zabinski said. Today the question facing them is either to defend the people's power together with the working class or to surrender to the enemies. The conditions for preparing the party congress are growing worse. There must be no abortive party congress. That was why program questions have to be sorted out before discussing the date. Labecki, too, demanded that important political work and an important program should precede the congress.

POLISH COURT REJECTS RURAL SOLIDARITY REGISTRATION

LD102036 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Feb (ADN)--The Supreme Court of the Polish People's Republic on Tuesday rejected the registration of the so-called Rural Solidarity. This comes from a report from the Polish News Agency PAP.

In the appeal proceedings the court gave as the reason for its decision the fact that there exists no legal prerequisites. It confirmed the decision of the Warsaw provincial court, which already rejected a similar application.

SED JOURNAL STRONGLY REJECTS 'POLITICAL PLURALISM'

LD101158 Hamburg DPA in German 0947 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 Feb (DPA)--Independent organizations such as the Solidarity trade union in Poland will under no circumstances be allowed in the GDR. According to a report by the Information Bureau West, the latest issue of the theoretical journal EINHEIT leaves no doubt on this score. The journal, which is published by the SED Central Committee, strongly rejects any "political pluralism." It says that the "main thrust" of models of this sort is aimed "against the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party." The interplay of several parties and organizations is intended to undermine and finally abolish "leadership by the revolutionary party of the working class."

EINHEIT writes that the architects of the idea of pluralism are not concerned with "the interests of the working people, with democracy, freedom and justice, but with the elimination of worker and peasant power." They want to create possibilitieis for action by counterrevolutionary forces in independent organizations which would then be "all the more dependent on foreign imperialist principals and financial backers." But this the SED will "never allow."

HONECKER GREETS NEW DELHI NONALIGNED CONFERENCE

AU101922 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On the occasion of the conference of the foreign ministers of nonaligned countries, which begins on Monday in New Delhi, and on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the movement, Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, conveyed to Dr Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, and to Indira Gandhi, prime minister of the Republic of India, identical greetings messages:

The New Delhi meeting of the foreign ministers of the nonaligned states is an occasion to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Nonaligned Movement. At the same time I convey best wishes for a successful meeting. The GDR is paying great attention to this conference, which is taking place at a time in which the international situation is visably worsening.

In the course of its existence the movement of the nonaligned countries, together with other peace-loving forces, has often exerted an enormous positive influence on strengthening peace, solving conflicts and developing mutually beneficial cooperation among countries. Today the movement makes a real and palpable contribution to shaping the political and social present and future of mankind.

Situated in a region where the most powerful military potentials ever known to mankind are concentrated, the GDR is deeply interested in having the arms race stopped and disarmament measures agreed upon. The dangerous striving for military superiority and changes in the military balance, for confrontation and boycott undermine the foundations of human existence and pose a most serious threat to it. Progress toward disarmament or arms limitation would, on the other hand, appreciably lessen the danger of war for mankind. This would release substantial sums which could be more profitably used for the economic and social progress of mankind in general and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular. Such a development would greatly promote democratization of international relations, above all in the world economic sector.

I am deeply convinced that in this tense international situation the New Delhi meeting of foreign ministers of the nonaligned countries can make a valuable contribution to consolidating peace and security, maintaining the achievements made so far in the interest of the peoples, finding ways to solve conflicts and overcome tensions and confrontation as well as toward reshaping international economic relations on a just and democratic basis.

HONECKER, SOVIET GENERAL SEE FILM ON PACT MANEUVER

LD110044 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1633 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 Feb (ADN)--A documentary film made by the GDR's National People's Army had its festive premiere in Berlin today. Entitled "Dedicated to Peace," it is devoted to the 10th SED Congress and the 25th anniversary of the National People's Army and reports the "Comradeship in Arms 1980" maneuver. It documents the fighting power and combat-preparedness of the allied socialist armies for the secure protection of peace and socialism.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, chairman of the GDR Council of State and chairman of the National Defense Council, was greeted with rapturous applause at the International Cinema in Berlin. Also present were other members and candidate members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee, including Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, other members of the state leadership and leading representatives of the democratic parties and mass organizations.

A cordial welcome was given to Army Gen Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany; and Col Gen Ivan Gubin, member of the Military Council and chief of the Political Administration of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany. Military and defense attaches accredited in the GDR were present.

The watchword of the maneuver, "comradeship in arms--united for peace and socialism--no chance to the enemy," is the film's theme. It reflects the high devotion to duty of the troops and staffs of the seven allied armies and impressively conveys the unity and cohesion of the armed forces allied with the battle-tested Soviet Army. It shows the precisely coordinated action of the allied armies and the use of a diverse range of equipment. It documents the ability of the forces allied with the Soviet Army to deal a crushing rebuff to any aggressor.

Among the film's outstanding impressions is its depiction of the brotherhood in arms between the participating armies and the close ties of the soldiers with the people of the German worker-peasant state. The unity of people and army is shown not least by the scenes of the meetings between Erich Honecker, other SED and GDR state leaders and of all social forces with the maneuver participants.

MUECKENBERGER INTERVIEWED ON GDR-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

DW101153 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1812 GMT 6 Feb 81

[Program feature: "Journalists Ask," with Rolf Schmidt, director general of Radio GDR, and Juergen Huhn interviewing Erich Mueckenberger, SED Central Committee Politburo member and president of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship; program moderator is Alfred Eichhorn--live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Eichhorn] Comrade Mueckenberger, how long have you been the president of the society?

[Answer] I have been preisdent since the 11th congress of the society, but it has been nearly 20 years to the day that I have been a member of the Presidium.

[Eichhorn] Those who will be asking the questions together with me are Rolf Schmidt, the director general of Radio GDR, and Juergen Huhn. Erich Mueckenberger, you said once that being a friend of the Soviet Union means being a fighter for the all-round strengthening of the alliance of our country with the Soviet Union. In a way this has also been the leitmotiv of the conference held over the past weekend in Dresden. Why was this conference held at this particular time, and how do you assess its results?

[Answer] In answering your question, allow me to proceed from the premise that we, the members and functionaries of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, have always felt like active fellow fighters of the people of the socialist German Democratic Republic and that we live up to our social tasks accordingly. Under the leadership of the party of the unified workers class we have been contributing, within the framework of our specific tasks as the friendship organization, toward deepening in every respect the fraternal alliance and cooperation of the GDR people with the great Soviet people. This alliance and cooperation constitute the stable foundation for building the developed socialist society, for the joint struggle to preserve peace and for the strengthening of international security.

Preparatory to the 10th SED Congress GDR citizens are currently making up their balance sheets to ascertain where we stand as a people in fulfillment of the decisions of the ninth party congress and of the 5-year plan. It is no secret to the listeners that this will be a good balance sheet. Our members are filled with great satisfaction at seeing that they have done their share as the society for German-Soviet friendship.

The Dresden conference on questions concerning the definition of common interests between the GDR and the USSR and concerning future tasks is part of this balance sheet. It constitutes a contribution toward the preparation of the 10th party congress.

I have already drawn attention to the fact that we, as the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, are not just passive onlookers in what happens in our days. Since the liberation of our people from fascism by the Soviet Union and its glorious army, since the founding of the first worker-peasant power on German soil, we have always seen our mission in actively contributing toward the organization of friendship, the fraternal cooperation of our peoples in all fields of social life. The discussion in Dresden, in which a strong delegation of our Soviet friends and comrades also participated, demonstrated once again that this has turned out to be correct.

Our friendship is a true fighting community. It is not a passing phenomenon. These are fraternal relations which are founded on the common basis of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the common interests of our peoples. The Politburo report at the 13th SED Central Committee Plenum stated in this connection: Our fraternal alliance is based on a stable, unshakable foundation. This includes the varied and intensive party, state and social relations just as this includes close ideological cooperation and constantly growing cooperation in the economic field.

[Question] Comrade Mueckenberger, the exchange of experience plays a big role in our social life. What significance do you attribute to it in this connection?

[Answer] You certainly know the expression that exchange of experience is the cheapest investment. You see, the exchange of experience that has developed in these more than 35 years, which today belongs to the socialist routine of our people, is the basis of everything we have in common in the political, ideological, economic, spiritual, cultural as well as military fields.

Useful mutual relations have developed which are the expression of true proletarian internationalism and socialist patriotism, together with socialist solidarity.

We are guided in common by the idea--this was also expressed in Dresden--that every success in production or in scientific-technical progress in the world stengthens not only the particular country, but the entire socialist community of states. The general secretary of the SED, Erich Honecker, pointed this out in his Gera speech. One can rightly say that our community has reached a higher level. It indicates what prospects for the future will be opened up by the firm cohesion of our countries. We have come closer and closer to each other, we have jointly and successfully passed many tests in life and in the fight against our enemies.

Let me add that this development cannot be separated from the three treaties between the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union on friendship cooperation and mutual assistance. In addition, there are numerous government treaties and agreements, and most of all the Crimean meetings of our leading representatives, Comrades Erich Honecker and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, meetings which have become a tradition.

[Question] Comrade Mueckenberger, close and very friendly relations have existed for a long time between the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, the federation of societies for friendship and cultural relations with foreign countries and the Soviet society for friendship with the GDR. Comrade Mueckenberger, how are these relations at present, if you had to characterize them, and how will they develop in the future?

[Answer] We can say with great pleasure that relations and cooperation between our friendship organizations have developed well for decades. This cooperation expresses the standard of development in building socialism achieved in our countries, the mutual degree of maturity of socialist democracy as well as the high speed of socialist economic integration. It also reflects the state of development of the new socialist man, or let us say simply the socialist norms. It cannot be separated from the international situation either, as at present when our adversaries have heated up the confrontation course, when they pursue their furious anti-Sovietism and their dangerous warmongering.

I am firmly convinced that the citizens of our socialist state will agree with me when I say that our friendship with the Soviet people is mainly characterized by cooperation and standing together in solving the current national and international problems and tasks. Friendship and comradeship in fighting--we consider this as including mutual understanding, concrete knowledge about our friend, his fighting past and present.

As a friendship organization we try, therefore, to intensify the socialist awareness of history, the knowledge about our friend and combat comrade. We want to face together the anti-humanist and peace-endangering anti-Soviet agitation and the anti-GDR propaganda of our joint adversary.

Naturally our activity, our cooperation does not take place spontaneously but on the basis of annual cooperation plans. In accordance with these plans we mutually exchange study delegations, specialized groups of tourists, lecturers, folklore groups, exhibits and a variety of other things. We also dispatch friendship trains.

Seminars of our organization's functionaries have stood their tests for years, seminars taking place in the Soviet Union or the GDR respectively. They will help us this year in the evaluation of the 10th SED congress and of the 26th CPSU Congress. This, too, will contribute to the preparations of our societies' functionaries for the tasks of the eighties. In past years a high number of Soviet lecturers have appeared in basic organizations and in 24 houses of German-Soviet friendship explaining Soviet domestic and foreign policies. These have included lecturers from the Soviet Embassy in the GDR and officers of the Soviet Armed Forces. Since last year they reported, among other things, about how the working people of the country of Lenin make preparations for the 26th CPSU congress by showing high achievements.

On the other hand, our lecturers reported in the Soviet Union about our problems and tasks in preparation for the 10th SED Congress, and about the fight for fulfilling and overfulfilling the economic plan.

Viewing the joint plan for 1981, the main thing is that in the eighties we will contribute more effectively through our specific and cultural mass work to the further rapprochement of our fraternal people. In other words, this means promoting through cooperation in various fields the rapprochement of our people, to intensify mutual knowledge regarding our friend, his everyday life, his work, his morals and ethics, his achievements in the fields of science, technology, culture and art, and to extend it in a varied and interesting way. This also means adopting the moral and spiritual values of the other in order to use them even more for the benefit of the people and for the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

[Question] You are listening to the program, "Journalists ask," in the first program of Radio GDR. Our guest today is member of the SED Politburo Erich Mueckenberger, president of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship. Comrade Mueckenberger, without knowledge of concrete facts and figures, everybody knows in this country that it is a personal honor to be a member of the German-Soviet Friendship Society. How has the friendship society grown in past years, how wide-spread is the active cooperation of people in the GDR?

[Answer] The listeners know that the society for German-Soviet friendship has its place, its firm place, in our state. It is a firm part of the national front of the German Democratic Republic. It takes its responsibility very seriously for the all-round strengthening of our socialist fatherland as well as with regard to what it can do to strengthen the entire socialist community of states and to safeguard lasting peace.

It is probably known that the German-Soviet Friendship Society is one of the strongest mass organizations in the GDR. While at the time of the 11th congress in May 1978 we had 5.5 million members, I can announce today that another 250,000 citizens have strengthened the ranks of our organization during the past 6 months. This, too, reflects the growing political maturity of our people. We may even succeed in reaching the membership figure of 6 million by the 10th party congress; the recruitment of new members is for us, the Central Executive Board, not a mere organizational question. Our statutes state in part: The members of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship avow the unshakable friendship and fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union. They manifest this by their active advocacy of the further consolidation and deepening of the alliance of friendship and struggle with the USSR, through an adamant attitude toward anticommunism and anti-Soviet agitation as well as by their collaboration in the implementation of the tasks to be solved by the organization.

You see, this is what matters in particular to us today more than ever before in view of the intensification of the international class struggle by our, I might say, common imperialist adversary.

[Question] Comrade Mueckenberger, preparatory to the 10th party congress we are saying in all fields of our social life that what matters is to achieve a considerable growth in outout, a higher level, better quality. What is the contribution made to this end by the Society for German-Soviet Friendship?

[Answer] The Central Executive Board of our society at its seventh meeting last week in Dresden discussed tasks before the 10th party congress. The 13th SED Central Committee plenum found that never before under the leadership of the SED has the unanimous action of the people been as marked as during recent weeks and months, and we as a friendship organization can only endorse this fully. The past several months have proven that the members of the Society for German-Soviet friendship have solidly joined the great popular discussion and the mass initiative in honor of the 10th party congress.

It goes without saying, and you can understand that we are not waging a separate competition as the Society for German-Soviet Friendship. Our members rather participate actively in socialist competition which is being guided by the trade unions. In this respect the collectives bearing the honor title of German-Soviet friendship and the circles for the evaluation of Soviet experiences are making a particularly good showing. We, the Central Executive Board, are gratified at seeing that most of the collectives bearing the title of German-Soviet friendship, and their number is, after all, 112,000, are among those which reliably fulfill the plan day after day, which actively participated last year in the campaign for the attainment of a 2-day plan lead and which now support the initiative for scoring an extra daily output by the 10th party congress.

Combined with these efforts he executive boards of the basic organizations, in keeping with our specific political, ideological and organizational activities, contribute toward creating clarity about the basic issues of our era.

[Question] Comrade Mueckenberger, shaping socialist awareness is part of the persuasion work in our country, and the concept of an internationalist attitude is closely linked with life, with the deeds of GDR citizens. How do you assess the share of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, of its entire history, with respect to the shaping of these attitudes?

[Answer] I would like to stress this: Since its foundation, the Society for German-Soviet Friendship has always endeavored to continue the traditions of its predecessors, the Society of the Friends of New Russia and the League of the Friends of the Soviet Union. From the very outset it has been our objective, under the leadership of the party of the unified workers class and as its loyal helper, to cooperate in eradicating the evil spirit of Nazism and to persuade and win the masses of our people over for the friendship among peoples in general and with the Soviet Union in particular. If this is solidly moored in our people's mode of thinking and acting, then the activities of our friendship organization have already paid off. However, the education toward socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism continues to be our most important task as before.

COMMENTARY DESCRIBES HORRORS OF NEUTRON BOMB

DW101349 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1812 GMT 9 Feb 81

[Commentary on the past week's events by Wolfgang Grosse]

[Text] A vehement political debate has erupted in these days in Europe, but also beyond our continent, primarily for two reasons. First, because the world public decidedly rejected the equation of the national and social liberation movements of the peoples with terrorism made by the United States. Secondly, because the United States has introduced the neutron bomb into discussion again. Both issues indeed are interconnected in some way. Therefore the hypocrisy of the alleged fighters against terrorism overseas has been as quickly spotted as was the human rights campaign of the former U.S. President Carter. For whoever intensifies the military aid to dictatorships like those in South Korea or El Salvador supports terrorists and tramples on human rights with the military boot.

Quite generally speaking terror is directed against freedom, the health and life of people. Therefore, there cannot be any more terrible instrument of terrorism than a weapon which has been created for the painful and massive annihilation of human life. Thus if there is any talk about terrorism at all, then it is necessary to name, first of all, those who watched the nuclear weapon and [word indistinct] applied it, who endeavor for the further enhancement of the nuclear potential today instead of calling for its reduction and elimination.

This is the moral aspect under which the announcement by U.S. Secretary of Defense Casper Weinberger on the production of the neutron bomb must be viewed. Since this plan appeared for the first time under the Carter administration it has been generally known what this bomb involves. Some 80 percent of its energy is converted into radiation. Only 20 percent of it works as an explosive force. The neutron bomb kills man but spares material values. It could have been conceived only on the fertile soil of a society in which man is worth nothing whereas profit is everything.

If Weinberger's utterance, according to which the United States is contemplating the production of this weapon and its deployment in Europe, triggered a storm of outrage, then it was not solely out of moral objections but also for reasons of security policy. The advocates of the neutron weapon, and we should not harbor the illusion that their number in NATO is small, peddle the argument that what this involves is but a defense weapon which is ideal for the defense against Soviet armored units which, in the pipe dreams of Western propagandists, have incessantly been rolling over Western Europe for decades.

This psychosis is further fanned even after the withdrawal of 1,000 Soviet tanks from the GDR, which militarily is not peanuts indeed. In reality the neutron bomb is a typical weapon of aggression and conquest. After the bomb has cleared the foreign territory of the enemy, and not only his troops but also the civilian population, the task forces can advance in a quick thrust without encountering any resistance.

They are not impeded in their advance by destroyed roads, bridges and railroad lines. After conquest the monopolists can take possession of production facilities left largely intact.

[Passage indistinct] but, as it is the case in conquest policy as a rule, an erroneous calculation as well. For while the advocates of the neutron bomb pass this [words indistinct] off as being a tactical theater weapon and thus limited nuclear war, the opposite is true in this respect as well. Tactical nuclear weapons make sense only if the pertinent commanding officers can decide on their use on the spot. Therefore, the danger threshold for nuclear war can be lowered by the neutron bomb.

Is it not also a dangercus illusion that any war begun with neutron weapons can be localized by this kind of nuclear weapon? The arguments for the neutron bomb and on the whole the entire new U.S. nuclear strategy stipulated in President Carter's Presidential Directive No 59 turn out to be the unsuitable attempt at localizing in Europe a nuclear was envisaged by U.S. imperialism and thus preserving the territory of the United States unharmed.

Thirdly and finally, it (?cannot be) refuted that the production and introduction of the neutron weapon can be another step toward the intensification of the arms race. In that case what applies for the Brussels missile decision is also true. What matters, after all, is neither closing a gap nor counterarming but the accomplishment of military superiority over the Soviet Union, the turn away from the strategic balance and the turn toward the policy of strength.

Apart from many farther-reaching initiatives for the limitation and reduction of nuclear arms the USSR has proposed joint renunciation of the neutron weapon. This is a fair offer because neither side would either lose or risk anything. If Washington thus far has cold-shouldered Moscow on this issue, then it was again in the hope for a unilateral advantage. The experiences of the whole postwar history prove that new types of weapons neither remained nor will be a monopoly of the United States.

Hence it would be logical not to work on new weapons systems but on treaties on the renunciation of them. It was along these lines that many, important politicians of Western European states spoke out last week. Government representatives of Sweden, of the NATO states, Norway, the Netherlands and Canada have said a clear no to the neutron weapon. The leader of the British oppositional Labour Party, Michael Foot, called on the Conservative government to take concrete steps to prevent these and similar mass destruction weapons from ever being deployed on the European Continent.

In the FRG, too, the voices of the opponents to the neutron bomb and the Brussels missile decision are increasing especially among Social Democrats and in youth organizations. The latter seems to me to be all the more important since both the neutron weapon and the new Pershing II medium-range missiles are to be deployed primarily in the FRG. What is more, the FRG is the only one among the NATO allies which as early as 3 years ago came out for the neutron bomb and, in 1979, was one of the initiators of the Brussels missile decision aside from the United States.

Without the approval of the FRG or, we cannot but regret to say, without its engagement, this decision would never have materialized. The Federal Republic is playing a key role when it comes to the question on whether the new medium-range missiles, for whose deployment in the densely populated Ruhr area preparations are underway already, and the neutron bomb will be coming to Western Europe. Declarations seeking to play down the matter are not defining a stance, and in fact smell more like approval than rejection, and probably are calculated only to absorb the anti-nuclear war movement in the FRG and in Western Europe.

Thus, Bonn quarters called Weinberger's announcement an impromptu formulation by the secretary who probably had done some loud thinking. Should a leading member of the U.S. Cabinet plunge forward and act arbitrarily in a question which just a few years back caused a massive international protest movement and forced the Carter administration to back down? Nobody can assume that in earnest. In this connection it is necessary to recall that the neutron bomb option had been contained in the Republican election program. Thus, Weinberger's utterance is not at all an impromptu formulation. It is a real danger that hides behind it. The Soviet news agency TASS said that what Pentagon chiefs talks about has not only long been planned by the U.S. military-industrial complex but is also already in production. In all probability Weinberger's speech allows the conclusion that the Washington administration intends to put the European NATO partners under pressure once again to achieve at last what the Carter government failed to enforce.

If the neutron bomb is to disappear into oblivion not only temporarily but for good, then this will require the responsible action of competent statesmen and an even broader popular movement than heretofore. In this way it might be possible, too, to prevent the implementation of the Brussels missile decision, to put the SALT II treaty into force, and to start farther-reaching negotiations on the limitation of the strategic missiles.

STOPH MEETS WITH NEW FRG, CANADIAN ENVOYS

LD110040 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1703 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 Feb (ADN)--The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, on Tuesday received the head of the permanent mission of the Federal Republic of Germany, Klaus Boelling, and the Canadian ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, John Macleod Fraser, for their inaugural visits.

FRG SURVEILLANCE OF GDR CITIZENS REPORTED

AU101459 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Feb 81 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--According to reports from Bonn, political personalities in the FRG protested that GDR representatives visiting the FRG are being watched by the service for the "protection of the Constitution" which is responsible to the Federal Chancellery. As knowledge of this affair is painful to the FRG governing circles, they wanted to make sure that certain GDR personalities be exempted from permanent surveillance by the FRG intelligence service, and be removed from the list of persons under surveillance. In this connection it is strange that it was not possible to avoid admitting publicly that FRG border officers have received an order to notify the service for the protection of the constitution of any visitor from the GDR who crosses the border on a visit to the FRG, so that the service can put him under proper surveillance, that is watch him. According to official circles in the GDR, at present the question is one of how to protect GDR citizens visiting the FRG against such practices.

AUTHORITIES CONVICT, ARREST TRANSIT VIOLATORS

FRG Agent Sentenced

AU101458 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7-8 Feb 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 6 February 1981, the Berlin city court sentenced Frank Jordan from Singen (FRG), agent of the criminal Veinberg gang, to 10 years imprisonment for crimes under section 105 of the penal code connected with the abuse of the transit agreement and for violating the GDR foreign exchange law.

The car he used for the crime, a Mercedes with license plate B-HR 530, which was not in good shape or roadworthy, was impounded. As an agent who was hired and paid by the criminal gang operating from West Berlin, the previously convicted Jordan enthusiastically participated in preparing and implementing serious crimes against the GDR. At the trial, it was again proven that subversive actions are committed on GDR transit routes using unscrupulous, criminal means and methods. The professional criminal and gang leader Erik Veinberg, who has several previous convictions, and his accomplice Hans-Joachim Witzmann, repeatedly used Jordan as messenger and escort driver, and entrusted him with investigative trips on the transit routes. For such crimes, the gang procured forged FRG travel documents from criminal circles and by bribing employees of the FRG and West Berlin authorities. Jordan participated in planning additional subversive crimes connected with the violation of the territories of socialist and other countries. In this connection, the use of fire arms was considered. In addition, Jordan abused the entry regulations of the GDR capital, Berlin, in order to repeatedly smuggle GDR currency--which he had skillfully hidden--to West Berlin and make this money available for criminal financial maniuplations.

West Berliners Arrest

DW111236 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1858 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] The GDR security organs at the Stakken GDR border crossing point on 8 February 1981 caught red-handed and arrested the inhabitants of West Berlin, Otwin and Angelica Arnytz. They had actively participated in ganglike organized crimes on the GDR's transit routes. Investigation proceedings have been initiated and warrants for their arrest issued.

SED GREETS STATE SECURITY MINISTRY ON ANNIVERSARY

AU102050 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7-8 Feb 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] Berlin (ND)--The GDR State Security Ministry commemorates the 31st anniversary of its founding on Sunday. On this occasion the SED Central Committee has addressed the following congratulatory message, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the minister, soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals of the State Security Ministry:

On the occasion of the 31st anniversary of the founding of the State Security Ministry the SED Central Committee conveys to you heartfelt congratulations and fraternal militant greetings.

Under the leadership of the party of the workers class, the members of the Ministry of State Security and of the Feliks Dzerzhynski Guards Regiment last year again honorably fulfilled their class assignment in consistently implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress with a high degree of readiness for action and a great sense of political responsibility and intelligent chekist action.

The continuation of the socialist revolution in the GDR under the conditions of the aggravated international situation, caused by the stepped up arms race and the confrontation course of the most aggressive imperialist circles, has made great political and operational demands on the organs of the Ministry of State Security to safeguard the state security of the GDR and foil all subversive machinations of the enemy. The achievements accomplished in doing so occupy a worthy place in the great initiative of the GDR people in preparation for the 10th SED Congress.

The SED Central Committee expresses to you, Esteemed Comrade Minister, to the party organizations and to all communists in the State Security Ministry, as well as to the heroic strugglers on the invisible front thanks and appreciation.

Comrades soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officers and generals of the Ministry of State Security:

The Moscow conferences of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member-states as well as the 13th session of the SED Central Committee have provided an answer to the current questions of our struggle. The primary task is and remains to defend and safeguard peace.

The Central Committee is certain that the members of the Ministry of State Security and of the Feliks Dzerzhynski Guards Regiment, with loyalty and dedication to the workers class and to its Marxist-Leninist party, will contribute to implementing the decisions of the 10th SED Congress by swiftly exposing and foiling all antisocialist plans of the enemy. A prerequisite for this is, first and foremost, further strengthening the fighting strength of the party and service collectives, enhancing of revolutionary vigilance and the consolidation of the inviolable militant fraternal alliance with the USSR Committee for State Security and the fraternal organs of the socialist countries.

The SED Central Committee wishes all members of the Ministry of State Security and of the Feliks Dzerzhynski Guards Regiment much success, creative vigor and happiness in their personal lives in solving the demanding tasks in 1981.

The GDR Council of Ministers also conveyed congratulations.

Workers Awarded

AU102020 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7-8 Feb 81 pp 1, 2

[ND report: "Recognition for Protection of the Republic: Horst Sindermann Presents High State Awards"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)--On the 31st anniversary of the establishment of the GDR State Security Ministry, the chairman of the GDR State Council has awarded high state awards. At the proposal of the SED Central Committee Politburo and of the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers, meritorious staff workers of the ministry received the honorary badge to the patriotic order of merit in gold and the patriotic order of merit on Friday.

By order of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Council and chairman of the GDR State Council, the awards were conferred by Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the State Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo. At a festive event in the State Council premises he expressed to all members of the ministry and of its Feliks Dzerzhynski Guards Regiment the gratitude and recognition of the party-state leadership for their successful activity in protecting the socialist fatherland and the creative work and peaceful life of the citizens. "Under SED leadership and relying on the confidence of the workers class and of all working people," he said, "the members of the State Security Ministry, in close combat alliance with the chekists of the Soviet Union and the other socialist fraternal countries, have always honorably fulfilled the class assignment given to them."

The award ceremony was attended by members of the SED Central Committee Politburo; Horst Dohlus, Central Committee secretary; Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Army Gen Erich Mielke, minister of state security; and Paul Verner, Central Committee secretary; by SED Central Committee members Fritz Mueller and Col Gen Herbert Scheibe; State Council Secretary Heinz Eichler; and by other personalities.

TRADE UNIONISTS STRENGTHEN CIVIL DEFENSE

AU101950 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Feb 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--The almost 9 million FDGB members highly appreciate the performance of the GDR's socialist armed forces in reliably protecting peace and socialism. This was stated by Kurt Zahn, member of the Presidium and secretary of the FDGB's Federal Executive, in a press talk on the 25th anniversary of the National People's Army [NVA]. He paid tribute to the cooperation among all members of the Trade Union of NVA Civilian Employees in safeguarding a high degree of fighting strength and combat readiness of the army.

Kurt Zahn also pointed out the close relations between the trade union groups and labor collectives on the one hand, and their colleagues performing honorable service in the NVA, on the other.

BRIEFS

AID TO MOZAMBIQUE--A team of specialists of the Radebeul energy installations construction plant has departed for another work assignment to the People's Republic of Mozambique. Jointly with representatives of other enterprises of the GDR energy sector the team will help complete in the African country a 110 kilovolt high-tension conduit including three transformer stations. Work on this power grid of roughly 200 kilometers is to be completed before the end of this year. [Text] [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1808 GMT 7 Feb 81 DW]

AID FOR SAHEL--A shipment from the GDR solidarity committee--10 tons of foodstuffs and medicines--has arrived in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on board an Interflug special plane. Other solidarity shipments will be handed over to other countries of the Sahel zone. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jan 81 p 2 AU]

AGREEMENT WITH SOVIET WRITERS--A work plan was signed in Berlin on Thursday between the writers unions of the GDR and the USSR, which comprises multifaceted joint measures of the professional organizations of the two countries. Gerhard Henninger, first secretary of the GDR Writers Union, and Yuriy Vertchenko, secretary of the leadership of the USSR Writers Union, signed the document which is based on a long-range perspective program agreed upon by the two fraternal unions last year. Among other things, the program envisages writers of both countries participating in multilateral colloquiums in the GDR and USSR respectively, at which problems related to memoirs, youth and childrens literature and dramatic work will be deliberated. Delegations of the GDR union will attend the Seventh USSR Writers' Congress in Moscow, as well as the fourth meeting of the presidiums of the two unions. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jan 81 p 2 AU]

SHIP PROPELLERS--The Waren metal casting plant, a branch of the Postock diesel engine plant, will produce 45 huge ship propellers in 1981. These propellers weigh 17 tons each. Aside from that, the plant will turn out 200 smaller propellers for inland shipping on rivers from the Elbe to the Volga. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1832 GMT 31 Jan 81 DW]

ROLLING MILL RATIONALIZATION--The entire production process of the annular section rolling mill of the Groeditz steel and rolling mill under existing plans will be rationalized primarily through the use of microprocessors and industrial robots in the next few years. Apart from a higher productivity level these measures will help reduce the natural-gas consumption by nearly 8 percent. [East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1834 GMT 31 Jan 81 DW]

WORK ACCIDENT RATE--The work accident rate in the GDR was reduced to its hitherto lowest level last year. For the first time the number of work accidents per 1,000 workers was less than 30. The GDR thus is holding a top position internationally, the decrease in accidents compared with the preceding year having amounted to more than 4 percent. [East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1102 GMT 9 Feb 81 DW]

VERESS REVIEWS FOREIGN EXPORT, IMPORT TRENDS

LD110029 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Budapest, 10 Feb (MTI)--Last year the Hungarian national economy showed a better state of external and internal equilibrium, the living standard was successfully kept at its former level and the public supplies flew more smoothly than before, Foreign Trade Minister Peter Veress told his Budapest press conference on Tuesday.

The results came amid gradually worsening foreign market conditions. The first quarter of last year was still marked by comparatively favorable world market trends but, beginning with the second quarter, the prices of a number of Hungarian export commodities dropped and the market conditions deteriorated considerably. Such being the condition, the stable links with the socialist countries have assumed special importance. They account for nearly 60 percent of Hungary's exports and over 50 percent of its imports. The corresponding figures for the advanced capitalist states are two-thirds and 40 percent. As to the developing countries, close to 10 percent of the overall exports went there, but the measure of imports was smaller than this.

Hungary's 1980 exports were worth 4,380 million roubles and 4,968 million dollars, surpassing the 1979 level by 7.7 and 16 percent. The value of imports was 4,931 million roubles and 5,067 million dollars, or 14.6 and 8.9 percent more than in 1979.

The rouble-accounting export and import traffic went as planned on the whole. The trade with the Soviet Union increased most powerfully. The non-rouble trade balance showed a more positive picture than had been foreseen. It was slightly active, computed without the costs of transport and, with these included, the deficit was smaller than the previous year's and the 1980 target. As to the country's export to advanced capitalist states: Austria, France, Switzerland and Finland gained, while Great Britain lost in importance. Greater role in Hungarian imports was played by the United States, Japan, Great Britain and Austria. The imports from the Federal Republic of Germany grew at a lower than average rate.

In the 6th Five-Year Plan period the goods traffic is scheduled to increase by 25 to 30 percent, and the exports should grow much faster than the imports. The economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance remains decisive in Hungary's world economic relations. The idea is to broaden bi- and multilateral ties, mainly the cooperation contacts, said Peter Veress.

The commercial links are to be boosted on the basis of mutual advantages with the advanced capitalist states too. An important target is to vigorously increase efficient exports, which requires to streamline the product pattern, improve the quality of products and raise the level of market-related activities. The economic ties are intended to develop further also with the developing countries, with the possibilities inherent in production and development cooperation to be utilized in a greater measure.

All this is determinative for this year's tasks as well. The principal aim in 1981 is to further improve the national economic equilibrium, with special regard to the non-rouble trade balance. The improvement should go together with sufficient supplies to the population. It is important, therefore, that the enterprises make increased efforts to boost the rouble-accounting trade balance, as well as to keep the non-rouble balance poised. Accordingly, the export figure should rise by 9 to 10 percent, while the imports may increase only slightly.

Experts in the advanced capitalist countries reckon with a minimal economic growth for 1981. This means that there will be a fierce competition for the market, which confronts the Hungarian enterprises with the demand to offer high-technology and high-quality products with favorable terms of transport. Besides, this is the only way to increase the economicalness of exports.

To update the exports pattern was mentioned by the foreign trade minister as one of the most crucial tasks. Agricultural and food products continue to top the non-rouble list of exports, followed by materials. On the other hand, machinery has never had a higher than 13 percent share in capitalist exports and, what is more, the figure last year fell below 12 per cent.

Increasing the sales of machines and precision engineering goods representing small amount of material and high intellectual value forms a major condition of efficient export. A lot depends, therefore, on the innovation efforts of machine building factories. The non-rouble machine export should grow much faster than the average so that the foreign trade targets of the 6th Five-Year-Plan could be met.

Finally the minister dealt with the extension of the direct foreign trading right of productive enterprises, stressing that the ministry is ready to remove additional restrictions in order to help raise the efficiency of foreign trade activities.

SUCCESSFUL TRADE WITH LEBANON IN 1981 REPORTED

AU101940 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Feb 81 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Our Trade With Lebanon; From Slaughter Cattle to Patientia"]

[Text] It is a reassuring beginning of the year: the Terimpex foreign trade enterprise has concluded an agreement with its Lebanese partners to deliver 30,000 slaughter cattle. However, neither side regards this year's potential as exhausted by the conclusion of this $22 million business deal. Of all the Hungarian slaughter cattle shipped abroad, 30 percent find buyers on the Lebanese market. In addition, Lebanese merchants buy a considerable quantity of fresh beef and thousands of sheep.

Although 1980 was a record year in Hungarian-Lebanese trade ($47 million in exports and $6 million in imports), the 1981 plan envisages a further considerable increase: Exports will be valued at $56 million and imports at $6 million. Foodstuffs account for 60 percent of exports. As for exporting industrial products, rolled goods, asphalt and synthetic fertilizer are worth noting in the first place, but their extremely extensive composition includes many things ranging from ready-to-wear clothes, medical instruments and refrigerators to the magic cube toy and the patientia hair regenerating fluid.

Hungary buys from Lebanon, among other things, rugs, knitted products, lentils and citrus fruit.

MSZMP DELEGATION LEAVES FOR VISIT TO ISRAEL

LD101130 Budapest MTI in English 1042 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Budapest, 10 Feb (MTI)--The delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party left for Israel on Tuesday at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel. The Hungarian Delegation will attend the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of Israel under the leadership of Mihaly Kornidesz, member of the HSWP Central Committee.

LOSONCZI, PUJA SEND NONALIGNED ANNIVERSARY WISHES

LD101214 Budapest MTI in English 1735 GMT 9 Feb 81

[Text] Budapest, 9 Feb (MTI)--President Pal Losonczi of the Hungarian People's Republic's Presidential Council cabled his felicitations to President Fidel Castro of the Republic of Cuba and present chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement on the 20th anniversary of the foundation of the movement.

To honour the anniversary, Hungarian Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja sent a telegram of congratulations to Foreign Minister Narasimha Rao of India, host of the Delhi conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries.

SUPREME COURT RULES ON FARMERS' TRADE UNION

LD101840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] The Supreme Court has examined the appeal of the founding committee of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Farmers against the decision of the Warsaw Voivodship Court, recognizing that in light of the law in force the voivodship court could not carry out the registration of that organization, which is not a trade union as conceived by the regulations of the law on trade unions and the resolution of the Council of State which defines the registration procedure of trade unions.

The Supreme Court passed the matter over for examination to the appropriate state administrative body, which is the Warsaw city administrative office.

As a spokesman for the Ministry of Justice says, all activities toward setting up an independent, self-governing trade union of farmers are not legal.

MORE ON PZPR PLENUM SPEAKERS; RESOLUTION PASSED

Bydgoszcz Official Address

LD101210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0525 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Speech by Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship party committee, at eighth PZPR Central Committee plenum on 9 February in Warsaw--read by announcer]

[Text] Trade unions have brought about social animation and an increase in authentic activity and have contributed to the resolution of many urgent social issues. Nevertheless, one should not minimize the negative phenomena in the activities within the unions and their contacts with the state authorities.

I agree with the main thesis of the Politburo report that our attitude toward the trade unions should be characterized by a class adherence to principles. At the same time our attitude must be flexible. The party should thoroughly analyze and try to objectively assess individual Solidarity branches and activists and in particular their actions.

We should support and cooperate with all that Solidarity does to assist the country and the working class. We should criticize and combat everything which damages socialism, particularly those who strive to create an opposition party out of the new union structures and those who ignore economic realities or international conditions.

Recent events demonstrate that negative trends in the activity of various Solidarity branches are increasing. The extremist elements, though in a minority, are very aggressive and are increasing the activities of individual branches designed to torpedo the line of agreement and stabilization started by the party.

It is necessary to patiently and consistently prove to the community that the activities of the union movement in a socialist state cannot be confined to demands and to settling accounts. We have an opportunity to convince the community that it should create the material conditions needed for implementing these demands. It is also in the interest of trade unions to take some of the responsibility for the state of the country, the economy, the regions and the work establishments.

Party members belonging to Solidarity should support in their actions those forces which genuinely seek to help the republic. It is necessary to remind party members belonging to Solidarity about their duties issuing from the party statute. We must treat all trade unions equally.

Our natural allies are the branch trade unions, which firmly support the fundamental precepts of socialism, including the leading role of the Marxist party in the state and society.

The Bydgoszcz experience demonstrates that the industrial branch unions, which often represent more balanced and realistic stands on many issues, are in practice a factor checking and alleviating the unjustified demands made by Solidarity. The industrial branch unions, revived in a new form and linked by concern for the destiny of the country, have a chance to gradually consolidate and regain lost positions. The party should create every condition conducive to this.

Wrobel Speech

LD101320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0535 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Report on speech by Antoni Wrobel, member of the PZPR Central Committee and electrical engineer at the Mazowsze petrochemical plant in Plock, at 9 February PZPR Central Committee plenum session in Warsaw--read by announcer; intercepted in progress]

[Excerpts] We are seeing manifestations of enormous psychological pressure and frequently also physical pressure applied against those who oppose the strikes.This happened, for instance, on 10 and 24 January when many people failed to work, not just because of the need to [words indistinct]. Great internal agonies are suffered by our party members, particularly those who are in the new trade union organization. Such people often do not know who is right and how to behave in conflict situations, particularly in the case of strikes. Up to now, often against their inner convictions, they have followed the union's discipline because both the Politburo and the Central Committee have failed to take a decisive and clear stand on this issue. Personally, I believe, said Antoni Wrobel, that party members, in a situation when the fate of the country is in the balance, should not participate in strikes, especially when the strike has aims which have nothing in common with implementation of the agreements signed.

The ninth extraordinary congress of our party is approaching and we have great hopes attached to it. We expect that a program will be adopted which will express the desires of our members and the broad masses of the community. If this is to happen we must know which of us party members will represent us and which will express our will. There is, therefore, a need to carry out immediately an assessment of our comrades, their ideological and moral attitudes, their readiness to adhere to the principles of the statute and party discipline. Undertaking such actions, in my conviction, will also encourage a rapid completion of the renewal within the party and will free our ranks of people who are compromised and for whom the party card was needed for their own personal profit and who are still thinking today that things will work out for them somehow.

Antoni Wrobel went on to say that in spite of the tense political situation, the workforces are becoming more and more interested in the economic reform. This applies in particular to the proposed solutions in developing real self-government for the workers and all other forms of participation of working people in management. People are less interested in economic mechanisms and more in structural proposals in the sphere of management and in institutional proposals which ensure the influence of workforces on economic decisions and the control of their implementation in the enterprises.

The current political situation in the Plock Voivodship party organization, the moods of the [word indistinct] people and production crews, require from our activists systematic daily contacts and active counteraction against the ideological subversion which is being conducted on a broad front. I must state with regret, said Antoni Wrobel, that there are many complaints regarding our mass media which, with a few exceptions, have lost the fighting spirit now so badly needed in presenting the party's policy. It is no surprise, therefore, that these shortcomings are successfully supplemented by numerous newly-born editorial teams presenting the viewpoint of Solidarity through factory radios, local papers, leaflets and other mass media. Various political counteractions to such phenomena are not only unsuccessful but are virtually interpreted as attempts to thwart the aggrements made.

[Words indistinct] this is happening at the same time as heated and fruitless debate is going on about the new censorship law. It is no surprise, therefore, that opinions are often voiced that there is dyarchy in Poland, although there should be only one power, one strong people's power, based here in Warsaw.

I will say outright that there is a conviction that if we are to win the present confrontation then it is necessary to carry out, on the initiative of our party, a change in the government which because of its lack of decisiveness has lost credibility and the confidence of the community.

It is also necessary to implement legal proceedings against people who are using methods of intimidation, blackmail, the slander of party members and the slander of management cadres and of all those who are in favor of calm and order.

It is also necessary to undertake and develop a public debate with representatives of the Solidarity leadership, standing firmly on the ground of being in favor of a rapid return to normality in our country on the basis of noninfringement of the constitutional principles of the political system, which are so often confirmed by the new trade union but at the same time it acts most often in a manner which constitutes a grave threat to those principles.

Plenum Resolution

LD101858 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Feb 81

["Text" of the Resolution of the eighth PZPR Central Committee plenum held on 9 February in Warsaw]

[Text] A complex and difficult political and social situation is going on in our country and the escalation of tension continues. Strikes are being launched more and more often in order to force demands of a political character. The destabilization of economic life is worsening. Production and market difficulties are growing. The situation is exacerbated by manifestations of anarchy, disturbances of the peace and public order, and also a decline in social and professional discipline. The current situation in the country is making the socialist renewal difficult and is disrupting the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements striking at the most vital interests of the community, the foundations of the socialist state and national existence.

The Central Committee accepts the evaluation of the current situation and the directions in party activity contained in the Politburo report.

The Central Committee unswervingly maintains the stand of continuing the process of socialist renewal in accordance with the line mapped out at the sixth and seventh plenums. It is thought that the process of renewal, so far, is insufficient and is threatened mainly by the forces hostile to socialism and our party and by the destructive activities of the extremist, anarchy-causing elements and also conservative attitudes coming to light in party ranks.

Our party has resolved to march along the road of consistent struggle for the democratic reform of social and economic life and to create the conditions for the effective influence of the Sejm, the people's councils, the trade unions and the self-governing and social organizations on the full spectrum of the country's life.

The Central Committee decisively favors the bilateral implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. In this we are appealing for the active participation of the working class, peasants, intelligentsia and all forces who wish the country to extricate itself from the crisis and who wish to ensure successful development. It is recommended that the government, the state and economic administration, in consultation with the trade unions, create conditions for the implementation of those agreements and of the suggestions and demands submitted by the workforces which are recognized as just and realistic.

The community deserves full and systematic information about the implementation of agreements which should be provided by the government. Forms and principles of consultation have to be prepared on the most important decisions which have wide social implications, and on methods of gathering and investigating opinions on key issues in the country.

The preparation and introduction of a complex economic reform is an important task. The full implementation of the reform will be an essential factor in socialist renewal. The Central Committee expects all branches and party organizations to conduct discussions on the provisions of the reform. At present, the main precondition for introducing the reform is the restoration of normal work, order, and social discipline.

It is indispensable to take further steps toward shaping and developing workers self-management, adopting bills on trade unions, workers self-management and on socialist enterprise. This will be of essential significance. The party will create conditions so that self-management in the enterprise will become an example of socialist democracy for the working people.

An important task for political work in rural areas is to ensure conditions for the full implementation of the guidelines of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and of the ZSL Supreme Committee Politburo concerning agricultural policy. The activity of agricultural self-management, agricultural circles and branch associations should be consolidated in the form of self-managing social organizations representing the interests of individual farmers. The adoption of the bill on agricultural self-management will be greatly important. The government, and regional links will ensure the delivery of planned means of production in rural areas.

One of the conditions for solving urgent problems concerning the task of bringing the country out of the crisis lies in strengthening the socialist state and improving public and civic discipline. A resolute counteraction is required against the attempts to disrupt law and order, and against action undermining state institutions and organs.

An important task lies in raising the effectiveness of the social and economic policy by the state in conditions of complete adherence to the principles of the democratic system. The government and the state administration should inform public opinion, extensively and systematically, about the situation in the country and about the character of the conflicts that occur, as well as about the state of our national economy, about the initiatives and ventures undertaken for the purpose of improving services to the population and ensuring a successful solution of their problems.

There must be an acceleration in the government's implementation of the Central Committee's decisions concerning observance of the principles of social justice; improvement in the system of allocating accomodation and more widespread public ontrol; adherence to the principle that every family is entitled to only one apartment; limitation of the injustice of profiteering incomes not justified by the actual amount of work performed; the legal definition of the size of the highest and lowest remuneration as well as of pensions and benefits, provision of special care for the lowest income groups; establishment of the social minimum and further study of the cost of giving; and the thorough eradication of phenomena of official posts being used for the purpose of obtaining unjustified personal benefits.

Recognizing the great importance of the trade union movement for constructing socialism in Poland the PZPR attaches much importance to the rebirth of the trade unions, seeing in them a mass-scale organization for protecting the interests of the working people, expressing their opinions and needs, as well as a creative force with socialist transformations in public life.

The party maintains its unchanged position in support of the political unity of the trade union movement. The members of the party have the task of fighting for the socialist character of trade unions, observing the accepted statutes and guiding trade union elements toward joint management and joint responsibility for the places of work concerned.

It is necessary to popularize the awareness that the living conditions of the working people are inseparably linked with the scale of the national income.

Members of the party active in the trade union movement should always and everywhere be guided by the principles contained in the party statute and, through their example and attitude, influence the functioning of the union links so that they do not become a tool in political struggle and so that the right to strike is not abused. Party members must not participate in strikes of a political character.

The Central Committee expects all trade union organizations--including the industrial trade unions, the NSZZ Solidarity and the autonomous trade unions--to understand the present complex economic situation and to join the national effort to overcome the country's difficult economic predicament, increase social and economic discipline and management efficiency, and liquidate social tensions.

The area of special care in the activity of the trade unions is, and will continue to be, the workplace and the workforce. The cooperation of all the trade union links is needed in the workers' cultural, social, training and sports activities.

The Central Committee expresses anxiety over the fact that many links [ogniwo] of the NSZZ Solidarity have become an area of penetration and activity by the enemies of socialism. This is proved by aggressive publications with politically hostile content, irresponsible and clearly antisocialist statements from some of the activists in NSZZ Solidarity, actions which disturb calm and public order and also, frequently, unjustified attacks on the leadership cadres.

Positive processes taking place in the party in the recent past are expressed above all by the increased independence of the primary party organizations and the enlivened activity of the elected party echelons [instancji] and authorities. In practice we stress and implement the principle that the Marxist-Leninist party represents the working class and its most vital historical interests and that it guards the socialist values of the community's life. Party cells are taking up the problems of the working people more and more effectively. They look after justice, moral order and honesty, and sincere relations of labor and social coexistence. The party will perfect its activity in this direction.

The main direction in the party's activity is the struggle to stabilize the political situation and to overcome the country's social and economic crisis. In face of increasing political struggle, another task is to inform party members and society as a whole about the dangers resulting from the activity of forces opposed to socialism.

The party must come to the ninth congress ideologically consolidated and organizationally active, vivid and creative in discussion and united in action. We are facing the great task of mapping out a socioeconomic program for the immediate future. We must intensify work on preparing program theses for the ninth congress.

All links and echelons of the PZPR will intensify their action aimed at improving ideological and political standards and consolidating the unity of the party, its struggle against attacks on the party and system as well as against conservative and opportunist views and attitudes. All members and candidate members of the PZPR, during discussions at party meetings and in the course of training, should be reminded that the fundamental criterion of allegiance to the party is at present active participation in the process of renewal, a creative attitude to work, opposition to unjustified strikes and views hostile to the party.

During the period of the congress' preparation the party must get rid of persons devoid of ideals and moral principles, of those who violate the principles of the statute, who do not accept the line of the sixth and seventh Central Committee plenums, of those who do not observe party discipline, who do not defend the party's prestige in their walks of life and who act against proletarian internationalism.

This defines the limits the overstepping of which puts a member outside the party. The party organizations should give the opportunity to each party member to define his stance and views in discussions and concrete actions. Statutory disciplinary action, including expulsion from the party, should be taken against all those who do not observe the party line. The PZPR cannot cease, not for a moment, to be a party of struggle for socialist renewal, a party of active work for the country, a party of men of action.

The sense of responsibility of journalists from the press, radio and television for information about the complex socioeconomic and political situation of the country, for information on the process of socialist renewal and defense of the constitutional principles of the socialist state must be strengthened. Journalist who are party members have a particular duty to support party work and the implementation of its line launched with the resolutions of the sixth Central Committee plenum.

The Central Committee has instructed the Politburo and party branches and organizations to make constant effort to improve the system of information within the party. Party members should be provided with full and rapid information about the situation in the country and in the party, about the work of branches and about current tasks for party work.

The Central Committee has instructed the Politburo to carry out a detailed analysis of suggestions put forward during the eighth plenum discussion and report on the method of their implementation at the next session of the Central Committee.

The PZPR, which carries the responsibility for the present day and future of the people, for the socialist development of People's Poland must, by leading the process of renewal, extricate Poland from its difficult situation.

While voicing its full determination to carry out its adopted political line the Central Committee appeals to all party members and members of fraternal political parties, to members of trade unions, youth unions and social organizations, to nonparty people, to working people, to everyone who, guided by his highest civic duty, wants to build our house, to unite in the effort to secure calm and order and the normal functioning of our economy: Let us do all we can to secure conditions needed for our peaceful life.

Addition to Kania Speech

Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish at 1830 GMT on 10 February carries a 36-minute recorded version of the speech delivered by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, to the eighth PZPR Central Committee plenum in Warsaw on 9 February. A radio version of this speech was published on G 15 of the 10 February Eastern Europe DAILY REPORT. The television announcer states at the conclusion: "This was the speech delivered by Stanislaw Kania at yesterday's eighth PZPR Central Committee plenum"

The television version has been compared with the radio version and has been found to be identical except that it adds the following:

Page G 15, first paragraph, from line one the Warsaw Television version reads: [Text] Our deliberations are nearing an end. Allow me, too, to make a few comments at the end.

Respected comrades. The Central Committee is gathered here for the third time since the dramatic social conflicts of July and August stopped last year. At the sixth Central Committee plenum we sketched the line for the socialist renewal of life, a line for the development of democracy; a line to modernize the running of a socialist state and socialist economics; a line to develop Leninist principles in party life. We outlined the direction towards restoring the seriously disrupted ties of the authorities with society. This direction is still applicable.

Society's trust must be obtained daily. At the seventh Central Committee plenum we outlined a program of struggle for the socialist character of the renewal and of its defense against threats from the forces of anarchy and counterrevolution.

The guidelines of that plenum played an important role in mobilizing the party and all patriotic forces of the nation for the socialist stabilization of the situation.

Today, the topic of the deliberations are the party's tasks in consolidating the status and socialist character of the trade unions, as presented by Comrade Tadeusz Grabski on behalf of the Politburo. The trade union movement has always played a great role in defending the workers' interests, in struggling for socialism, in forming a class consciousness and the organizing working class forces. It has a great role to play today as well. In face of the organizational division of the trade union movement care must be taken. Everything must be done for its political unity, for its socialist character and to further the undertaking of cooperation of all trade unions.

There is one working class. It has a common interest. This should have an influence on trade union cooperation directly furthering their unity of action. In Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski's report we presented information on the Politburo's work. Our activity, as this report showed, was multifaceted. It brought no mean results.

In the discussion, however, comrades, you made many critical comments on the shortcomings in the functioning of the central leadership, shortcomings in our activity. There is, therefore, a need for a greater elasticity in the functioning of the central leadership and measures will be undertaken to meet this demand. We must be, no less than up to now, cautious and patient but at the same time more resolute, and we must strictly carry out the program. We must show concern for general observance of the law. The situation demands it. Each of those who spoke in the discussion stressed various aspects of it but all comrades agreed that our situation is exceptionally difficult and is developing in a very dangerous direction.

The party bears responsibility for the fate of the nation, of socialism and of the Polish state. Today all these values are in jeopardy. Our socialist homeland is in great danger. The economic situation is grave. Last year's results are known. The beginning of this year brings with it even greater deterioration.

Production in January 1981 was more than 10 percent lower than in 1980 and the wages fund was 18 percent higher. Export orders are being executed very poorly and this fact places imports in jeopardy--imports without which are national economy cannot function. Thus it is a process which leads to an economic catastrophe.

Poland may be threatened both by unemployment and by a general shortage of commodities vitally important to the population. This situation is no longer just the result of old mistakes but also of the new practice. This is now the result of disorganization and strikes. Everybody was glad to see the progress of stabilization in December after the seventh Central Committee plenum. January brought a breakdown of this so necessary process. This state of affairs is continuing to this day. It is morally embarrassing that in Poland, which has the most difficult economic situation of all socialist countries, tensions and strikes have come to the fore making the working hours in our country the shortest. It is a good thing that an agreement has been reached between the trade unions and the government on this issue. It was not the workers' interests that engendered action on the part of the executive elements of Solidarity who created tensions around this subject. We are treating this with deep concern. Our attitude toward the changes in the trade union movement has been and remains sincere and marked by good will. It derives from the line of accord--an accord especially with the working class--our mainstay--because it is its interests that our party is serving.

It was rightly emphasized here that there is a need for much more effective support of the industrial branch trade unions. One should stress great satisfaction at the fact that these unions are again beginning to develop and that their influence among the working class is recovering and growing. All manifestations of discrimination and lack of appreciation for the role of industrial branch trade unions should be treated sternly. It is a good thing that comrades from the industrial branch trade unions wish to raise social matters at industrial enterprises with great impetus.

This has been a very neglected field of action, especially during the last 6 months. We must see to it that the matters concerning the health of workforces, issues of work safety and problems of working conditions should always be treated in a most serious manner. It is a good thing that one can frequently see examples of constructive action by elements of Solidarity; that there are many instances of good and fruitful contacts between party organs and economic management with Solidarity commissions. The Central Committee wishes to develop such relations. This is needed both by the working class and Poland alike.

However, not everything depends on us here. Not everything depends on the government, on the authorities. It is a fact that we are faced with a great aggravation of the internal situation. This is the more dangerous because the international situation is becoming more complicated too. What is the source of this aggravation in our internal situation? There are voices which say that the government did not do everything necessary in the consultations on the issue of free Saturdays. But was this the reason for a boycott or workdays or was it only a pretext to whip up emotions? There are voices saying that there are delays in the implementation of the notorious agreements between the government and representatives of workforces. Yes, there are delays. There are shortcomings, some of them caused by inefficiency--and these must be put right--and here the surveillance and control by the Central Committee and its Politburo must be more efficient. But there are many such instances where the delays are caused by lack of possibilities. The Central Committee maintains that everything must be done to implement these agreements. Where there is no possibility of doing so the obligations must be defined anew, new negotiations must be held. But let us bear in mind that these obligations are not unilateral ones. I shall repeat it once more: The new trade unions were organized with the consent of the Central Committee since they were backed by a major part of the working class. This consent was also founded on the statement of their organizers, on the socialist character of the new unions. This is also an integral part of these agreements.

Statements by representatives of workers and striking workforces on making up for lost production caused by strikes were also an integral part of these agreements. How should this be assessed more than 5 months after the agreements were concluded?

The situation in the country is variable. We have numerous groups in the working class which are working splendidly and with selfless devotion--workforces, entire enterprises and even branches of industry. In general, however, instead of making good the damage caused by strikes, further damage is being caused. Our economy is heading toward the worst situation. There have been statements that the new unions do not intend to play the role of a political party and indeed this is in the interest of workers and consistent with workers' views.

What is happening in reality? With what are we being faced? The strikes of the past few weeks are purely political strikes. Attempts are being made to force the suspension of legal proceedings against people who do not conceal that they want to act toward the overthrow of the socialist regime. We also know that there are instances of--and also further intentions to stop publication of the Polish press. [sentence as heard] In dozens of publications the highest values are being attacked in the name of solidarity, namely socialism, our alliances, our traditions and the party.

The line of stirring up feelings and anarchy is being developed. How can all this be assessed? Are these the actions of the worker part of Solidarity? Is this caused by a lack of experience; by a state of excitement, by the youthfulness of this movement--as one put it. All this also influences them but it is not the decisive factor here. The decisive influence on this shaping of the political aspect of the movement is exerted by various circles of experienced people--not youngsters--which are clinging to Solidarity and whose program is geared toward anarchy and counterrevolution, the liquidation of socialism; and there are also those, we know full well, who are interested in a bloody contest with the supporters of socialism.

This is the truth. There is ample evidence to confirm it. They have backing in the centers of imperialist subversion. Among those people various initiatives are being formed to demolish rural self-management which is being reborn with the support of our party and the ZSL. Our stand on these issues is well known; it is explicit. Opponents of socialism, embedded in Solidarity, constitute a small part of it but they endeavor to take advantage of the workers' feeling for Solidarity and play on various emotions. However, there have been more and more cases in which Solidarity also means forced obedience and such cases occur frequently.

All this has made Poland a weaker link in the socialist community. Our situation is the subject of justified concern among socialist friends. We and they have been building our guarantees of security on common fellowship and the strength of the entire community. One link weakens the whole. We should believe in the maturity of the Polish working class. Counterrevolution in Poland is not acceptable. We have paid too great a price for social liberation which, due to our party, coincided with national liberation. We bravely defended the new people's authority and the revolutionary transformations in the early years after the liberation.

Today also, socialism has millions of supporters and determined defenders in Poland. The ashes of over 600,000 Soviet soldiers rest in Polish soil. While liberating our country they also created conditions for revolutionary transformations. No one will be able to cancel it. There is no power that can do it. National security and the defense of socialism in every country are closely linked. They are also the cause of the entire community of socialist states. Our words sound sharp, here at the debates of the plenum, because the situation is extremely dangerous. We are faced with a historical task: to create a safeguard for saving Poland's national existence.

We are determined to continue the course of socialist renewal, to develop democracy in the party and in the state, to continue the line of consistent action toward reforms which are necessary for the economy, in the operation of social life, in self-management, in personnel policy, but we also wish to continue the hard line in the consistent defense of fundamental principles of socialism, the struggle against actions which dissolve our state and social order.

These tasks are not two lines but one common line. We therefore appeal to all those who form the front of commonsense and patriotic responsibility. We must halt this bad development in the situation. We must save Poland from threats to socialism, to its national existence.

On behalf of...

Page G 18, paragraph two, line two, make read ... our party's cohesion. Preparations for the congress should cut the time it will take to deal with the crisis in Poland. Even before the congress we should do all we can to transform our homeland into a steadfast force within the socialist community. Sober minded and ...

CENTRAL COMMITTEE DELIBERATIONS SUPPORT DIALOGUE

LD101656 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] For the third time since the memorable August events, the PZPR Central Committee has held deliberations. It is hard to sum up in a few short sentences the decisions which were approved during those deliberations. The word "resoluteness" would seem to sum up the decisions most succinctly, regarding both the resolutions and the course of the discussion at the eighth plenum. It was in a resolute manner that the dividing line was fixed between the forces standing behind socialist renewal and those which of course want transformations, but not in the socialist spirit.

The trade unions, and this was firmly stressed, are a permament part of democracy. The role of ensuring the protection of the current interests of working people, and also of their long-term interests, is assigned to the trade unions--that is to Solidarity as well as to the branch and the autonomous trade unions--by the broad scope of their powers, based on the principle of (?bilateral), partnership relations in cooperation with the state and economic administration.

Those partnership relations, as practice shows, are not, however, turning out to be rosy. Social conflicts of varying (?substance) are still occurring. It was recalled during the eighth plenum that the party and government take the stand of implementing the August agreements, but also that those agreements are bilateral and cover the obligations of the trade unions.

We admit the mistakes made during the negotiations and we state that the contacts between the government and the trade unions should have a permanent, institutionalized character. So there was resolute support for further dialogue, but a dialogue which would enable the socioeconomic problems important for working people to be solved in an orderly way.

GRUSZECKI COMMENTS ON PZPR PLENUM, SOLIDARITY

LD111004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0710 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Kajetan Gruszecki commentary]

[Text] Important decisions were expected from the PZPR Central Committee plenum. Perhaps more was expected than could be done in the current, extremely difficult situation. I think that probably one of the most precious things resulting from the eighth plenum is the fact that the party Central Committee clearly expressed the thoughts troubling the majority of party organizations, party members and most Poles. The will to act in order to rapidly overcome the crisis by uniting all the nation's patriotic forces and speeding up all the actions subordinated to this goal was expressed. This was reflected in the Central Committee resolution. The Central Committee evaluated the last few months very critically. The right of existence was given to the conviction of the need to express its attitude on various questions connected with leading the country. It is true that we wasted a lot of time on unproductive discussions and phoney actions. [Passage indistinct] it is also true that the size of the crisis has created enormous complications and barriers, the overcoming of which can only take place if all the forces of the party are united. If this plenum contributes to this aim it will, in itself, constitute an enormous step forward toward stabilizing our life.

There is a key issue at stake here--the attitude to the trade unions. The plenum confirmed that this attitude is positive. The attitude to the trade union movement is positive but it is negative toward all the phenomena which push the trade union movement onto the wasteland of political destruction and destabilization of the state organism.

If a piece of paper is divided in two and one side is entitled "yes" and the other side "no", then on the "yes" side I would put: development of the authentic rule of the people, self-government, openness of life and information as the basis for all forms of participation of citizens in governing; Then further I would put order, stabilization, good work, social and legal order, social guarantees, the need to create a social program of stabilization and the need to gain the social approval for such a program. Also under "yes" I would put all the demands linked with social justice and equality as well as improvement of state mechanisms, which must better serve the people.

Anything which does not serve the above, I would call deviation from the party line, from the Central Committee decisions. It does not matter if such deviations are termed conservatism, attempts to preserve the status quo, or activity against renewal, because it is not labels that count, but attitudes and deeds. On the "no" side I would put anarchy and chaos, attempts to assemble political opposition against the renewal of socialist character, and escalation of demands until they exceed the capabilities of the economy. Here I would enter the attempts to use workers' views for goals which have nothing to do with the principles of socialism.

Not all the demands can be fulfilled, not all the strikes are justified, and attacks against the political system and the socialist state must be met by resistance from the whole party. [passage indistinct]

The quarrel about a name does not matter: Enemies of socialism, antisocialist forces, rightwing or anarchy, semantic debates only confuse the picture and the burning need to counteract the destructive deeds. The only struggle must be the struggle for the minds and hearts of most of the people, the struggle for their real interests.

I wrote down a significant sentence from the plenum debates: Crisis uncovered not just the enemies but also the allies of the socialist renewal. It is the party's task to actively take advantage of these allied forces. [passage indistinct]

It was proposed at the eighth plenum that a government stabilization program should be created, based on the broad social agreement, the program which, in nature, would be democratic, as it would take into consideration not only all that was signed in the summer of last year but also the present situation, capabilities and prospects, a program based on the honest analysis of the state of the economy. Such political initiative of the party can only be picked up by an efficient government, a government which is active and does not yield to demagogy, in alliance with all the forces known as the National Unity Front and the trade unions. But this initiative must be realized in the climate of political seriousness, excluding actions directed against the legal order and calm. This should become the issue for all the social forces including--and this I stress--the Solidarity trade unions.

I think that the plenum defined one more condition for the success of party political initiative. This is the task of further purging the party from corrupt elements and incompetents who are dragging the party backwards. This can only be carried out successfully if an atmosphere of calm prevails. In conditions of a fire it is difficult to put one's house in order.

On the other hand, the new social movement, particularly Solidarity, must rid themselves of political speculators and two-faced people who are camoflauging their dirty deeds with declarations of defense of workers' rights.

The debate at the Central Committee session was very extensive and resulted in many conclusions. It will bear fruitful results if we make sure of giving them support.

GOVERNMENT-TRADE UNION RELATIONS REVIEWED

LD111110 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1555 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Bogdan Chocianowicz commentary]

[Text] The latest issue of the weekly JEDNOSC, the newpaper of the Szczecin Solidarity carries on its front page a cartoon depicting two citizens who cannot reach an agreement. One of them, better nourished, has his eyes covered by a scarf; the second, looking haggard, has a bandage on his lips. The first one, which even a child can guess, represents the government; the second, of course, is the personification of the trade unions. Although this cartoon does not represent the summit of the art of painting, and although Pinkowski, if these are the most symbolic symbols, does not look any better nourished than Walesa, I like this cartoon. With the aid of a few lines and some thought, it hits something which has been harassing us for many months. Maybe it does not hit the nail on the head. It does not hit that proverbial 10 but it hits the target: a dialogue at various levels, an attempt to start conversation with the use of the means of communication being eliminated. There is something in it. But is it the whole synthetic truth on this dramatic topic? Has the government really become blind and the trade unions silenced forever? I do not think this is the case.

The government, I am sure, sees many things, although any passenger in a streetcar can say without a doubt that it does not see everything.

And the trade unions have many opportunities to speak frankly, not only during organizational meetings but also in print. This is testified by the weekly JEDNOSC, which is so merciless to the government, and also by displays in the Szczecin shops, and in windows of institutions and of municipal transportation, which are full of trade union posters. I think that the new trade unions must not, at least in Szczecin, complain about the services of the official government mass media. So where is this dog, as the saying goes, buried? The answer is: There where it died a few months ago--in a hopelessly barren and rocky locality called lack of trust.

The past days and weeks have shown that this lack of trust becomes apparent especially among some trade union officials. This disease is infectious; less resistant persons on the other side of the conference tables do not withstand the offensive of its virus. Thus the circle is closed. We do not trust you. You do not trust us. The cart in which we travel cannot be divided. It is our common cart. It belongs to all and to each one of us. If we want it to continue to serve us, if we want it and ourselves to travel forward and not backward, we cannot allow such Sarmatian culturist luxuries. We cannot afford it. We cannot pull the wheels backward and forward at the same time, we cannot pull them to the right and to the left at the same time. No cart can survive this, even the strongest. And our cart, after the last long journey, is very battered. It is enough to break an axle or spokes in a wheel. But it is essential to harness ourselves on this uneven road and to pull the cart together, unless somebody wishes to dismantle the vehicle. But this is a different story, as was said at one time by some pretty clever Briton.

TRYBUNA LUDU VIEWS AIMS OF RURAL SOLIDARITY

AU101537 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Feb 81 p 2

[Jerzy Wisniowski article: "Solidarity--In What? With Whom? Against Whom?"]

[Excerpts] Today a great movement is continuing in the rural areas--a critical as well as creative movement. The apparatus of people's power is not afraid of this movement, which is continuing and increasing. I would even say that the power apparatus is supporting, even encouraging this movement. The evil that has accumulated in the rural areas' social and economic life is such that only a social movement can eliminate it. The party knows this and that is why it banks on that movement. This is why it is possible to eliminate the evil in question.

I ask the farmers not to take it amiss when I say that the criticism they are voicing within or outside Rural Solidarity against errors and distortions is not as extensive and deep as the criticism voiced by the apparatus of people's power and its echelons. I state this with the utmost responsibility. This is really so, even though some people would just shrug their shoulders at this statement.

I have in front of me a list of the demands made at the beginning of January by the farmers from Rzeszow, Przemysl and other voivodships who are connected with the Rural Solidarity. As it is impossible to cite all these demands, I will discuss only those concerning the most crucial farming issues: the farmers' participation in deciding the most important problems of rural areas and agriculture, equal treatment of all farming sectors by the investment policy, and participation in decisions on the disposal of land.

But, good Lord, before these demands were made, they had appeared in almost the same shape in the PZPR and ZSL documents, had been taken account of by the draft economic plan, and had been delivered to those Sejm committees preparing a draft law on peasant self-government.

Does this mean that the decisions and plans in question will by themselves radically improve the unfavorable situation in which some rural areas and sections of farmers find themselves? Of course not. These decisions and plans must be truly and genuinely supported by peasant self-government groups and their representative bodies. Today peasant self-government groups are most fully represented by agricultural circles, which are freeing themselves from the straitjacket of red tape.

They are freeing themselves effectively and for good from that straitjacket into which they were being forced.

Whatever I have written can be verified, discussed and even put in question. What matters, however, is that verification and discussion are aimed at repairing and not dismantling the people's state. There is no peasant in Poland that would like to dismantle our state. But who wants to dismantle it? Are those who want to create new structures in rural areas mindful of these areas' true interests? Do not the efforts to create such structures weaken the genuine peasant self-government groups, which are being revitalized? Do not those efforts signify that some people want to introduce into rural areas the political struggle against the apparatus of people's power?

At this point I have to mention something that is as painful to me as it is difficult to understand. In an interview given by one Zdzislaw Ostaszek, claiming to be one of the leaders of Rural Solidarity, to the French PARIS MATCH, I read the following: "Ever since the war, all farmers have been against socialism and have opposed the government. We want to use the farmers' movement to create a state within the state."

I do not know citizen Ostaszek and I do not know whether I will ever get to know him. But if I ever meet him I will ask him privately whether he really thinks that it was through their anger with socialism, and despite socialism, that the peasants took over the land given to them by the land reform, that they sent their children en masse to schools, and that they fought in the deadly struggle for the Odra border. I would like Zdzislaw Ostaszek to repeat to me that dismal reactionary nonsense and look straight at me at the same time--me, Jerzy Wisniowski, who was not a party member when socialism was being established in our country and who did not think that he would ever join the party.

Perhaps Ostaszek will have the guts to say openly that what really matters is not the farm prices, the turnover of land, the peasants' existence and peasants' dignity, but something completely different?

AGREEMENT ENDING JELENIA GORA STRIKE SIGNED

LD102250 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] After an agreement was signed in Jelenia Gora this evening by the government commission and the Joint Strike Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity, the protest action ended and the general strike in the voivodship was canceled.

The 12-point protocol of agreement, besides containing matters agreed upon at the Council of Ministers office yesterday, also includes other issues requested by the Jelenia Gora Solidarity. They mainly concern an inquiry into allegations against some members of the local authorities and management of some enterprises and institutions and, if these are established, legal action against those concerned.

A mixed commission to survey and control the implementation of the decisions of the protocol has been set up in Jelenia Gora.

PROTESTS CONTINUE; FOUR FARMERS BREAK HUNGER STRIKE

LD102326 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] In Podbeskidy, almost all plant workers are working with intensified effort. The miners of the Katowice Voivodship worked normally where the Solidarity delegations decided to suspend the strike action announced for today. In the next few days there will be a continuation [words indistinct]. The strike alert has been revoked at the Walbrzych collieries. However, the sit-in strike is continuing in the former voivodship Central Council of Trade unions [WRZZ] building in Rzeszow and strike readiness is being maintained in many workplaces in the voivodship.

Strike readiness is also continuing in the factories of Wroclaw and the Wroclaw Voivodship. The building of the management of the Municipal Transportation Enterprise in Wroclaw is occupied.

Four farmers from the Walbrzych Voivodship have broken off their hunger strike in the local railroad hospital.

LODZ STUDENTS-MINISTRY COMMISSION TALKS FAIL

LD111212 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Text] The next item is supplied by our Lodz correspondent: The consultations between the Interuniversity Consultative Committee and the students from the Lodz schools of higher learning on the forms and method of the implementation of demands, which went on all day yesterday and part of the night, have failed to yield any results.

Talks with the interministerial commission planned for yesterday were cancelled. Since this morning, mass meetings have been taking place at the departments of Lodz University. At these rallies the students speak either for or against signing the agreement. Its conclusion is being made dependent on resolving controversial problems which include, primarily, divergencies entered in the minutes, military training for students, the teaching of foreign languages, availability of passports, and work of censors. The end of the sit-in is also made dependent on the registration of the independent association of students. The commitment frequently repeated by Minister Janusz Gorski to register the association not later than the 16 February does not provide, as it now emerges, an adequate guarantee for the students.

Maybe today's talks, planned for this evening between the Interuniversity Consultative Committee and the interministerial commission will reach agreement on the stand of both sides on these issues.

SOLIDARITY CLARIFIES STATUTE ON SHIP STRIKES

LD101352 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] In connection with cases of erroneous interpretation of the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Unions [NSZZ] Solidarity statute, Strike Chapter 6, items 33 and 34, we consider it imperative to explain to our colleagues how one should interpret these questions in our trade. In conformity with the stipulations of the international law of the sea no strike can take place on ships outside a country's territorial waters. In view of the above we do not permit any other interpretation of the statute of our union.

[Signed] A. Kaminski, for the NSZZ Solidarity factory workers' committee at the Polish Shipping Company

BIALA-PODLASKA TU OFFICE TO BECOME CLINIC

LD111010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0900 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Text] A decision was made in Biala-Podlaska Voivodship to transform the office of the former voivodship trade union council into an outpatients clinic and to return to the Polish Teachers' Union the part of a building occupied by the party voivodship committee. Further [passage indistinct] also, the adaptation of the party voivodship committee building, which is currently under construction is being considered for use by the health service. A team of experts has been set up to examine the possibility of adapting the building.

AGREEMENT SIGNED BETWEEN AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

LD110530 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Text] An agreement on cooperation between the Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, "peasant self-aid," and the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union of Agricultural Cooperative Workers was signed in Warsaw yesterday.

KANIA ADDRESSES INTERPARTY COMMISSION ON PLENUM RESULTS

LD101934 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] The Central Consultative Commission of the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD held a session today. During the session Stanislaw Kania reported on the progress and results of the eighth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The session also discussed problems connected with the next session of the Sejm. The following participated in the session: Representing the PZPR Central Committee were Stanislaw Kania, Henryk Jablonski, Kazimierz Barcikowski and Andrezej Werblan. Representing the ZSL Supreme Committee were Stanislaw Gucwa, Zdzislaw Tomal, Jerzy Grzybczak, Witold Lipski and Boleslaw Struzek. And representing the SD Central Committee were Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, Piotr Stefanski, Bogdan Lysak and (Edward Gorski).

ZSL SUPREME COMMITTEE PRESIDIUM MEETING REPORTED

LD101606 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] The Presidium of the ZSL Supreme Committee has acquainted itself with the precepts of the program for stabilizing the national economy. It has been stressed that its main assumption is repair of the economy and creating conditions for combatting regression. This must be a program which is not only objectively correct and economically [word indistinct] but also credible for the community. The Presidium also drafted a preliminary bill on agricultural self-government. The need for authentic reconstruction of agricultural self-government was stressed and need for restoring status, function and powers to all self-government bodies was pointed out. The precepts of the draft bill will be sent for local consultation within the next few days.

As the next item on the agenda, the Presidium discussed the implementation of the decision of the Eighth ZSL Congress and the preparation of documents for the second plenary session of the party's Supreme Committee. The plenary debate will deal with the country's sociopolitical situation and tasks of the ZSL after the eighth congress.

SEJM COMMISSIONS BEGIN DEBATING ECONOMIC REFORM

LD102124 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] The Sejm today started debating the economic reform. Initial comments were made at the session of the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance Commission, which was attended by the presidiums of other Sejm commissions, about the basic provisions of the ways and means of introducing the economic reform. The deputies gave their full support to the reform plan which was put to public discussion recently. Of special interest to deputies were those aspects of the reform which deal with the role of the Sejm. Much attention was also paid to the position to be occupied by enterprises in the national economic system. It has been decided to continue the debate within individual Sejm commissions: Deputies' motions will be conveyed to the Economic Reform Commission before the end of March. The Economic Plan, Budget and Finance Commission then gave its approval to the report by the rapporteur general, Deputy Zbigniew Gertych, which will be read during tomorrow's session of the Sejm.

ENGINE SHORTAGE CAUSES BUS PRODUCTION CUT

LD111054 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] This year the Jelcz motor vehicle plant will build only 1,000 Jelcz-Belriet buses. According to the initial plan, Jelcz should produce five times that total. The cause of the delay is, above all, a shortage of engines made in Mielec and this shortage is caused by errors in the planning of the production of individual elements for these buses.

AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY REPAIR PROBLEMS NOTED

LD111040 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Excerpts] Agricultural spring is approaching and there is increasing anxiety about the efficiency of machines and tractors which will be used in fieldwork. The workforce of the agricultural machine repair factory in Slupsk failed to supply in January 300 engines for tractors.

The Slupsk mechanics carry out major overhauls of engines for 12 voivodships in the country. They had to overhaul 26,500 Ursus engines this year. The condition for success is cooperation with the Ursus factories. This time the Slupsk mechanics are not receiving crankshafts from the Ursus. Without them no agricultural tractors can be sent to the fields.

STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN CITED ON ECONOMIC AID CUT

LD110010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] A U.S. State Department spokesman has told a Washington press conference that President Reagan's administration has decided not to give Poland any immediate, additional economic aid. He said that what Poland needs most at this time is internal economic reform and not external economic aid or new loans to be added to the considerable sums of existing indebtedness.

SLOWO POWSZECHNE ON IMPLICATIONS OF REAGAN STATEMENTS

AU101218 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 5 Feb 80 pp 1, 2

[Janusz Stefanowicz article: "A Return to Cold War--Appearances or Reality?"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING REAGAN'S ELECTION, I WROTE IN SLOWO POWSZECHNE TO WARN AGAINST PESSIMISTICALLY EVALUATING HIS PRESIDENCY FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF EAST-WEST POLICY AND, PRIMARILY, WASHINGTON-MOSCOW RELATIONS. I HAVE REPEATED THIS MODERATE VIEW IN OTHER PAPERS AS WELL AS ON RADIO AND TELEVISION. IN THE PAST FEW DAYS WE HAVE RECEIVED REPORTS THAT SEEM TO UNDERMINE MY FORECASTS.

In particular, I have in mind the President's first press conference, during which he rated the Soviet Union in terms that were last used by Truman to launch his arguments ("the Soviet Union is propagating a world revolution") and invectives ("crimes, lies, swindles"). Richard Allen, the new advisor on national security, also indulged in similar thinking, saying that "it is our aim to restore U.S. leadership to save world peace." During his first press conference, Secretary of State General Haig spoke in the same tone and accused the Soviet Union of assisting international terrorism, in the same way as was the case at one time with "international communism and subversion." After the Christmas break Max Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation in Madrid, launched a particularly sharp attack against the Soviet Union, accusing it of notoriously violating human rights and thus the CSCE Final Act. We can cap all this by something that is more than a curious ruling: Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin, who is perfectly at home in Washington center of power, has been deprived of the privilege of parking his car in the State Department garage. This privilege was granted him, the only diplomat, by none other than Henry Kissinger.

What is more, Reagan has promised to deal with the Soviet Union in a way that is subjectively unacceptable to a great power and that objectively hinders any kind of understanding. THE WAY IN QUESTION IS THE SO-CALLED LINKAGE [LINKAGE], WHICH MEANS THAT ALL THE ASPECTS AND PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS ARE LINKED TOGETHER. LOGICAL BY APPEARANCE, THAT LINKAGE IN PRACTICE LED TO A POSITION DURING THE "COLD WAR" IN WHICH THE STATE OF MUTUAL RELATIONS WAS DETERMINED BY THE "LOWEST POINT"--THAT IS, BY ANY CONFLICT OF POLITICAL, STRATEGIC OR ECONOMIC INTERESTS IN ANY AREA. IT WOULD LEAD TO SUCH A POSITION NOW, TOO.

Briefly, the new administration has made it move much more sharply than expected by everyone, including myself. Does this mean--as excitable commentators suggest--that a full return to the "cold war" has taken place in American-Soviet relations and, by implication, in East-West relations?

We have to state honestly that such a possibility is not out of the question and a rather disturbing analogy comes to mind. The Truman generation rejected the meaning of the Yalta accord, which had made the Soviet Union a partner in the European arena as a result of the joint victory over the grasping power in Europe--Germany. The Reagan generation wants to reject the meaning of the Nixon decisions (which were hesitatingly respected by the Carter administration) that boiled down to U.S. recognition of the Soviet Union as an equal power and as a global power insofar as interests and potentials are concerned. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT JUST THIS ATTEMPT TO REJECT THE PRESENT REALITY WILL CAUSE A RETURN TO THE "COLD WAR" IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO GIANTS.

The "Polish question" adds to the validity of the analogy with the forties--unfortunately. During the forties and now, Washington was and is intent on ensuring that--without breaking its formal allied relations with the USSR--Poland has the closest possible relations with the West insofar as the balance of political forces, the economic model and public opinion are concerned. In my book "Postwar Europe," I put forward the thesis (greatly pared by the censor at that time) that THE "POLISH QUESTION" WAS A TRUE BEGINNING OR A CALL SIGN OF THE COLD WAR. I AM AFRIAD THAT POLAND'S ROLE THIS WAY MAY BE REPEATED IF THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR DOMESTIC SITUATION ENCOURAGES IT.

On the other hand, however, the balance of power and other facts of international relations should caution us against making too literal comparisons. The "cold war" was started because the United States held a monopoly of nuclear weapons and the other side was able to isolate its societies and place on them the armor of economic autarchy. Such circumstances are not present now on either side. Reagan can inveigh against Moscow but he will be unable to effectively threaten it. The societies of the socialist countries may have to assume--in different degrees-additional burdens of confrontation--not only in defense efforts--but their increasing maturity and their openness to the external world will not allow a maneuver at isolation to be effective.

This means that either Reagan really misunderstands the evolution of the contemporary world and wants to mechanically repeat the course of events of 30 years ago or he is merely erecting a verbal stockade that, in his conviction, should create a suitable jumpoff point for negotiations with the Soviet Union as a global power--for a kind of "world Yalta."

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN--Warsaw, 6 Feb--The Council of State appointed Zdzislaw Rurarz extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to Japan. Rurarz, 51, was economic attache at the Polish Embassy in Washington and adviser to the minister of foreign trade. In 1973-76 he was a special adviser to the general secretary of the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade). Recently, he acted as adviser to the foreign affairs minister being simultaneously a scientific worker at the Main School of Planning and Statistics. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 1426 GMT 6 Feb 81 LD]

NEW VICE MINISTER--The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Jozef Bury under secretary of state of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Jan 81 p 2 AU]

ZIELONA GORA VOIVODSHIP CHANGE--The PZPR Voivodship Committee in Zielona Gora has accepted Mieczyslaw Hebda's resignation from the post of the committee's first secretary and has appointed Jerzy Dabrowski in his place. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan -1 Feb 81 p 2 AU]

PARTY OFFICIAL'S OUSTER--The Krakow Party Control Commission, which is examining some 130 cases of offenses against party statutes, has removed several persons from the party, including Edward Barszcz, former Krakow mayor and former minister of construction and construction materials industry. [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Jan-1 Feb p 2 AU]

CEAUSESCU CABLE, PRESS MARK IRANIAN ANNIVERSARY

AU111058 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 11 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 11 Feb (AGERPRES)--Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu has sent to Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, a congratulatory telegram on that country's National Day. "I am voicing my confidence that the links of friendship and fruitful collaboration between our countries will further expand, in the interests of the Romanian and Iranian peoples, of the general cause of peace, detente, national independence, and cooperation the world over," reads the Romanian head of state's telegram.

Marking the National Day of Iran the Romanian dailies of February 11 print notes highlighting the importance to the Iranian people of the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, an event which marked a turning point in Iran's millenary history, the beginning of deep-going and varied transformations of the country's political and social life.

The Bucharest newspapers also highlight the traditional links of friendship and collaboration with the Iranian people, links grounded on fully equal rights and mutual advantage. The fruitfulness of these relations is confirmed, among other things, by the building in Iran, with joint efforts, of important economic units, "achievements which stand for a genuine model of mutually advantageous cooperation," writes SCINTEIA.

Romania, the same paper writes, is inspired by the wish to further develop the good Romanian-Iranian relations, for the economic and social self-dependent progress of the two countries, to strengthen their collaboration in the struggle against the policy of domination and exploitation, for the promotion in international life of the principles of equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-immixture in internal affairs, non-recourse to force, for the settlement of all disputed issues by political means, by negotiations.

NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS END VISIT

AU102003 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 18432 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Bucharest, 10 Feb (AGERPRES)--Romanian-Norwegian consultations took place in Bucharest over February 9-10 on measures of applying those agreed upon during the state visit President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu paid to Norway in November 1980.

Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, received the Norwegian delegation led by Ambassador Per Borgen which included Erik Tellmann, political director in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, and Asbjorn Sveen, director in the Ministry for Commerce and Shipping.

The talks were conducted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Aurel Duma, minister secretary of state, and at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation by Ion Stanciu, deputy minister.

Approached were questions relating to the expansion of commercial exchanges and cooperation in production. Likewise, opinions were exchanged on the evolution of the international situation, particularly on the European plane, and the importance was highlighted of the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting.

EXILE VIEWS POSSIBLE REASONS FOR LETTER BOMBS

LD101603 Paris FRANCE-SOIR in French 6 Feb 81 p 5

[Pierre Assouline report: "Paul Goma Alleges: They threatened Me and Forbade Me To Go to the Madrid Conference"]

[Text] There is no doubt for they left their mark. It was an operation mounted by the Securitate--the Romanian political police. For Paul Goma the affair is clear.

Paul Goma is certainly the most famous of all Romanian dissidents. He has been in France since November 1977. The first time he was arrested in his country it was for having read in public extracts from his novel Pain which deals with the Hungarian Revolution of 1956. After his release in 1958 he was sent into internal exile for 5 years. Then gradually the authorities grew acquainted with this tireless troublemaker. They allowed him to resume his professional activities but in 1973 he was expelled from the Writers Union.

Another Age

Standing by his ideas, he publicly supported the dissident Czechoslovak Charter 77 signatories, published open letters, and pronounced condemnations and accusations. That was the point of no return.

He suffered searches, pressures and interrogations in Bucharest until he was again imprisoned in 1977. The Pen Club International, of which he is a member, campaigned for his release.

Goma became an issue for the Romanian authorities. They decided to allow him to leave for 1 year. That was in 1977. He chose France: He is still here.

Nicolae Penescu is also a man from another age--another era of Romania's history. He was interior minister in the coalition cabinet which King Michael formed in 1944 after his coup d'etat. When the communists took power he was arrested, tried and imprisoned for 16 years in various govenment prisons. It was not just the former minister who was put behind bars but the former National Peasant Party secretary general. On his release he was sent into internal exile. In 1969 he was exiled to France where he was able to express himself freely in the columns of a bimonthly organ known as the Information Bulletin for Exiled Romanians.

Why were Goma, Penescu and Orescu attacked and why now?

Paul Goma gave us his explanation: "We were at the Madrid conference a few months ago and we vigorously condemned the Romanian plan to have a follow-up to the Madrid conference in Bucharest shortly. That did not please the Romanian officials who, furthermore, consider me responsible for the poor reception which President Ceausescu received during his visit to Paris in June."

"Be Good..."

"They warned me. They sent me written threats. They told me not to go to Madrid. I went nonetheless. They then sabotaged my press conference by bomb scares. Afterwards they told me: 'Be good or we will change our attitude.' Now there are these letter bombs...."

Why now? According to some reports, the Romanian secret services have recently been seized with great zeal. They have to make up to their superiors for a very serious defection which took place last November but was only revealed a short time ago: that of a diplomat, head of the coding department at the Romanian embassy in Vienna who defected to the West with his codes and his personal effects.

DECLARATION, SPEECHES REPORTED ON AL-ASAD VISIT

Joint Declaration

JN072118 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 1918 GMT 7 Feb 81

["Text" of Syrian-Romanian joint declaration issued on 7 February in Damascus and Bucharest on Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad's 5-7 February visit to Romania]

[Text] At the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, His Excellency President Hafiz al-Asad, Arab Socialist Ba'th Party secretary general and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, paid an official and cordial visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania from 5 to 7 February 1981.

President Hafiz al-Asad and the officials accompanying him visited a number of the economic complexes and social and cultural organizations in Bucharest. President Hafiz al-Asad and the officials accompanying him were accorded a warm welcome engulfed with feelings of cordiality, friendship and appreciation, which each of the two countries' peoples harbor for the other.

President Hafiz al-Asad, Arab Socialist Ba'th Party secretary general and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, and President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, held official talks. Attending the talks on the Syrian side were 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, deputy prime minister and foreign minister; 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah, deputy prime minister for economic affairs; Dr Wahib Tannus, member of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party leadership and head of the party Higher Education and Scientific Research Office; Fayiz Isma'il, Progressive National Front Central Committee member; Dr Salim Yasin, minister of state for planning affairs; Maj Gen Zuhayr Ghazal, secretary general of the Presidential Office of the Syrian Arab Republic; Nasir Qaddur, assistant to the foreign minister; and Yusuf Ra'd, acting Syrian charge d'affaires in Bucharest.

Attending on the Romanian side were Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister for economic affairs; Nicolae Constantin, deputy prime minister and chairman of the State Planning Committee; Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs; Marin Radoe, deputy minister of education and instruction; Vasile Pungan, minister state secretary and counselor to the RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Alexandru Margaritescu, minister state secretary of foreign trade and international economic cooperation; Silviu Curticeanu, secretary and presidential secretary of the Council of State; Gheorghe Dolgu, deputy foreign minister; and Grigore Comartin, ambassador of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Damascus.

During the talks, each side acquainted the other with the activities and concerns of each of their parties, countries and peoples concerning economic and social construction. They gave special attention to the analyses of the level of the development of strong relations of friendship and the multifaceted cooperation between Syria and Romania. They also gave special attention to the possibilities of further strengthening and diversifying these relations. They also held a wide-ranging exchange of viewpoints on the current principle international issues and gave special attention to the existing situation in the Middle East.

The talks were held amid a cordial atmosphere of mutual friendship, appreciation and understanding.

The following documents were signed at the end of the talks:

A protocol on economic, scientific and technical cooperation;

A protocol on trade exchange for the year 1981;

And a protocol on cultural cooperation for the years 1981-1983.

President Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, and President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, expressed satisfaction with the expanded and multisided development in the relations of close friendship and the fruitful cooperation between Syria and Romania. They also expressed their conviction that that agrees with the basic national interests of the two countries and the two peoples and with international peace and cooperation.

The two sides stressed that the respect and strict application of the principles of independence, national sovereignty, complete equality in rights, noninterference in internal affairs and exchange of facilities and the respect of the people's firm right to freely choose the method of their progress without any foreign intervention are the foundation for the positive development of the relations existing between Syria and Romania.

Observing the special importance of the meetings and discussions between the two government and party heads in both countries, which give a new boost to the coordinated development of Syrian-Romanian relations, the two sides clearly sense the accomplishment of the achievements and the agreements reached at former summit meetings in Damascus and Bucharest and the other documents agreed upon between the Syrian Arab Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The two sides referred to the special meaning and the continued status of the principles and goals and the other provisions of the joint official declaration signed in Bucharest on 7 September 1974. They expressed their determination to continua applying the adjectives of continuity, stability and dynamism to the close relations of cooperation existing between their countries.

In regard to the confirmation of the special meaning and the importance of the relations of friendship between the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and the RCP in the framework of Syrian-Romanian cooperation, the two party secretary generals highly valued these relations and expressed their joint willingness to expand them and to intensify the direct contacts and the exchange of expertise in the field of the economic and social development of their countries.

Reviewing the issues related to the bilateral economic relations, the two presidents expressed their satisfaction with the rising standard achieved in commercial exchange and with the noticeable results in the cooperation in the field of production which was embodied in the establishment of the Baniyas refinery, the superphosphate industry in Homs and the cement industry in Ash-Shaykh Sa'id and other areas. They take this as evidence of the fruitful joint efforts of the Syrian and the Romanian workers, technicians and engineers and a symbol of the friendship which binds the Syrian Arab Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Syrian and the Romanian peoples.

They pointed out the necessity of steadily developing future cooperation between the two countries in the affairs of industrial production and defining new goals for this cooperation, particularly in the fields of chemical, petrochemical, tractor and land transport industries.

It was agreed to step up the current talks and to conduct discussions aimed at establishing an economic cooperation program for 1981-1985 in accordance with the 5-year development plans of both countries through providing specific indicators to the representatives of both countries to the joint committee for economic, technical and scientific cooperation.

Presidents Hafiz al-Asad and Nicolae Ceausescu agreed to provide the conditions to develop the economic cooperation between the two countries.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the fruitful cooperation between the two countries on the level of cultural and educational affairs and the level of forming cadres.

They also expressed their desire to maintain in the future the high level achieved in these fields since this promotes a better and mutual acquaintance as well as rapprochement between the Syrian and Romanian peoples.

The two sides, while positively appreciating the consolidation of direct ties between the People's Assembly in the Syrian Arab Republic and the Grand National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Romania and between the trade union, women's, youth and student organizations, in addition to the two friendship societies in the two countries, agreed to bolster these direct links and ties.

The president of the Syrian Arab Republic and the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania exchanged views on current international issues and the passage of events in the contemporary world. They noted that the development of international relations proves the soundness of their assessments as contained in the official joint declaration signed in Bucharest on 7 September 1974 and in the joint statement signed in Damascus on 16 August 1979 as well as in other joint Syrian-Romanian documents.

The heads of the two parties and states have reaffirmed the importance of the deep changes taking place in the contemporary world. They explained that the core of these changes is based on the active, continuing and increasing emphasis on the will of all peoples and states to live freely and independently, as well as their determination to put a final end to the imperialist policy, colonialism, neocolonialism and any form of foreign hegemony so that these peoples and states may be masters of their destinies and owners of their natural wealth, so that they may freely choose the means for their social development and so that they may coexist and cooperate among themselves under conditions of peace and security and on the basis of complete equality.

The two presidents, noting with anxiety the escalating dangers in the current international situation and that the greater part of humanity is irresistably striving to secure freedom and independence for all states and peoples and is standing with determination against the policy of force and the aggravation of tension in international relations, pointed out the need to work from a spirit of high responsibility to remove the existing hotbeds of tension in the world, a matter which conforms with all peoples' interests and with international detente and cooperation. In this regard, the two sides deemed it necessary--more than ever before--that all peoples exert greater efforts for the sake of consolidating cooperation and solidarity among all the socialist states, the developing states, the Nonaligned Movement's states and all the progressive forces in the entire world in order to establish relations among states on the basis of a new policy founded on complete equality in rights among the independent states that enjoy sovereignty and mutual respect, and in order to guarantee every people's rights to determine by themselves their own ways of development without any foreign interference.

The two presidents expressed special interest in the continuing tense situation in the Middle East as a result of Israel's continued occupation of the Arab territories since 1967, its continuous refusal to yield to the UN resolutions in this regard and its denial of the Palestinian Arab people's inalienable national rights.

Upon reviewing the situation in the region, the two presidents expressed their conviction that no comprehensive, just and lasting solution can be attained for the Middle East dispute except on the basis of Israel's complete, immediate and unconditional withdrawal from all the Arab territories it occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem, and the recognition of the Palestinian Arab People's inalienable national rights, including their right to self-determination, repatriation and the establishment of their own independent state.

The two presidents reaffirmed their conviction that the solution of the Arab-Israel dispute cannot be achieved unless the Palestinian cause, which constitutes the central core of this dispute, is taken into primary consideration and unless the PLO is recognized as the Palestinian Arab people's sole legitimate representative.

They also reaffirmed their conviction that the PLO must take part in the efforts, deliberations and conferences pertaining to the issue of Palestine.

The two presidents stressed the importance of the consolidation, solidarity and unity of Arab action in the joint Arab efforts that are aimed at attaining a comprehensive and just solution of the conflict in this part of the world.

The two presidents reiterated their deep concern over the illegitimate Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories, practices particularly represented in the adoption of legislation to annex Arab Jerusalem, the establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, the violation of the Arab historical and cultural heritage, the acts of oppression and the policy of racial discrimination which force the Arab inhabitants to leave their country, the deportation of Palestinian leaders, the continued change of the demographic features of the occupied Arab lands and the consolidation of the Israeli occupation.

The two presidents again denounced Israel's continued aggressive acts against southern Lebanon and its repeated attacks against Lebanon's territory as well as its direct and indirect interference in Lebanon's internal affairs, its continuous attempts to divide Lebanon, escalate tension in it and liquidate the Palestinians living on its lands. They reiterate their firm support for the legitimate Lebanese authority so that it can exercise its control over the entire Lebanese territory and preserve the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the country.

President Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, and President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, have agreed to continue contacts between the two countries and bilateral consultations whenever necessary with regard to the development of the situation in the Middle East.

Upon reviewing the situation in Europe, President Hafiz al-Asad, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, and President Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, stressed the importance their two countries attach to the attainment of security and the consolidation of broad cooperation among this continent's states and to the positive effects resulting from this in the interest of world peace and accord.

The two presidents expressed their concern over the current situation in Europe, where the two military blocs are directly confronting each other, where the arms race is being intensified and where the weapons for mass destruction are being amassed, including medium-range nuclear missiles, instead of being withdrawn as a beginning for the process of disarmament. This is a matter which poses a grave danger not only to the peace and security of the European Continent, but to the world.

The two presidents referred to the special importance of the meeting of the representatives of the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which is currently taking place in Madrid. This meeting is expected to have the best possible results, to reiterate the Helsinki principles and completely implement them, to expand the establishment of free cooperation among the European countries, to particularly insist on taking certain measures on military disengagement and disarmament, to reach agreement on convening a conference to establish confidence and disarmament in Europe and to hold a new meeting in the future for cooperation and security in this area of the world.

The two sides believe that security in the Mediterranean is closely connected to security in Europe. They deem it necessary to give proper importance to this subject at the Madrid meeting of the European security and cooperation conference.

In this respect, the two presidents highlighted the constructive role that can be played by the non-European Mediterranean states' positive participation in the current deliberations of the aforementioned conference and the measures it adopts in relation to the Mediterranean in accordance with the Helsinki final document.

The two presidents also highlighted the necessity of developing relations of good neighborliness and cooperation between the countries and peoples of the Balkans, a matter which will have a positive influence on the European political situation.

The two presidents reiterated their conviction that the eradication of backwardness and the establishment of a new international economic system based on the introduction of structural changes to the current system of international economic relations are the only ways to solve the international economic crisis and to achieve more rapid development of the developing countries--which, in the current situation, face great economic difficulties--these being basic conditions for the establishment of international political and economic stability and the achievement of world peace and security.

The two presidents noted with anxiety the futility of reaching a solution for the principal problems of the international economic situation through the negotiations taking place within and outside the United Nations and for the continuing deterioration of the situation in the developing countries. They also noted the failure to reach an accord that will make possible the start of comprehensive talks on international economic cooperation because of the opposition evinced by the developed countries. They insisted on exerting sincere efforts in the future to eliminate the difficulties which led to the freezing of the aforementioned talks. The two sides expressed their countries' determination to continually work within the international arena to reach positive results in this respect.

After exchanging views on the issues of disarmament, the two sides expressed their extreme anxiety over the continued arms race and the use of material, financial and human means for military goals, a matter which heavily burdens all people and constitutes a continued threat to world peace and security.

The presidents of Syria and Romania underlined the importance of prompt implementation of concrete and efficient measures for overall disarmament, primarily nuclear, as a vital condition for achieving world security, lessening tension and improving international relations in general in favor of the civilization and the future of humanity.

Syria and Romania firmly supported the banning of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and the importance of eliminating stockpiles of these weapons. Therefore, the two presidents determined that the United Nations organization must play a basic role at the disarmament talks in order to secure the participation of all states in the operation of bolstering world security.

The two sides also stressed the important role of the policy of nonalignment as an independent factor in international life for promoting and further strengthening peace, independence, full equality of rights, cooperation and progress; for aiding in the struggle to eliminate the imperialist policy, old and neocolonialism, and forms of interference and pressures; for building relations among states on a democratic basis; and for establishing a new system for political and economic relations. They also underlined the importance of further bolstering the unity of action, backing solidarity among the nonaligned states and the other developing states which are members of the Group of 77 and securing their influential participation in the efforts to reach appropriate solutions for the world's contemporary problems.

The presidents of the two states expressed the hope that the ministerial council of the Nonaligned Movement, which is due to convene in New Delhi in February 1981, will be able to achieve positive results in order to further bolster the Nonaligned Movement's world role in favor of all the peoples that are struggling for the sake of liberty and national independence and for the sake of economic and social progress.

While touching on the situation in southern Africa, the two presidents expressed their delight at the victory of the people of Zimbabwe and at the declaration of their country's independence. At the same time, and while touching on the situation ensuing from the negative stand of the racist regime in South Africa--which has led to the failure of the UN Geneva Conference on Namibia--the two presidents expressed their firm solidarity with the struggle of the nationalist powers in Namibia under the South West African People's Organization, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. The two presidents also outlined their support for the immediate implementation of the UN resolutions in this regard.

The two sides concluded that the United Nations Organization is an appropriate forum for embracing multiparty talks to solve the various international issues. They supported the efforts to further entrench the role of this international organization in the search for new methods and concrete measures capable of solving the problems of security, developing multifaceted cooperation among various states, giving a democratic quality to the United Nations and its various specialized agencies, and working in the future to further promote the activities of the United Nations. The adaptability of the United Nations and its charter to contemporary international life and its demands will facilitate this task.

President Hafiz al-Asad, Arab Socialist Ba'th Party secretary general and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, and President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, expressed their full satisfaction with the outcome of this visit, the talks they held on this occasion and the agreements reached. They expressed their conviction that this new summit meeting makes an important contribution and gives a new impetus to further expanding the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries, both bilaterally and internationally, which is in full accord with the interests of the Syrian and the Romanian peoples and of the issues of world peace, security and cooperation.

President Hafiz al-Asad expressed great thanks to President Nicolae Ceausescu for the cordial hospitality accorded to him and members of his delegation during this visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania. President Hafiz al-Asad cordially invited President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, to pay an official and cordial visit to the Syrian Arab Republic. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. The date will be set later.

[Signed] Hafiz al-Asad, Arab Socialist Ba'th Party secretary general and president of the Syrian Arab Republic

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Ceausescu Dinner Speech

AU061013 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0905 GMT 6 Feb 81

[Speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at 5 February dinner in Bucharest for Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad]

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Feb (AGERPRES)--Dear Comrade Hafiz al-Asad, secretary-general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Dear comrades and friends,

I take special pleasure in welcoming you dear Comrade al-Asad and your suite again as guests of Socialist Romania in voicing our feelings of friendship and best wishes.

The visit you are paying to Romania is an expression of the good and traditional friendly relations established between our countries and peoples, a fresh and telling proof of the joint wish to steadily strengthen the Romanian-Syrian collaboration and cooperation. I remember with pleasure the visits I paid to Syria, the fruitful talks we had both in Bucharest and in Damascus which gave strong impulses to the relations between our countries and peoples. The contacts between the Romanian Communist Party and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, between the mass organizations in our countries, the interchanges of delegations at various levels and the friendship between the two parties and peoples have expanded. The economic exchanges between our countries increased almost five times in the last five years. On this basis we want that during this visit new ways and modalities be identified of strengthening Romanian-Syrian manysided collaboration--firmly grounded on the principles of equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage--in the interest of both our peoples, of the general cause of peace and international detente. We consider that broad possibilities still exist of developing and deepening our collaboration particularly in the extractive industry, petrochemistry, chemical fertilizers, cement, machine building, agriculture, as well as in other domains, with a view to using to the best our national resources, to speeding up the economic and social progress of the two countries.

Given the scope of the cooperation between our countries and the ever more important role science and technology play in economic development, we consider that greater attention should be paid to the collaboration in these particularly important domains as well.

During your visit you will have the opportunity to get acquainted with the achievements the Romanian people has scored in its economic and social development. We concluded the Sixth Five-Year Plan period with positive results and we started implementing the decisions of the twelfth congress of the party which set the goal of Romania's entering a new historical stage of economic and social development. You will also have the opportunity to see how the provisions of the programmes of building the multilaterally developed socialist society are being implemented providing for a rise in the material and spiritual welfare of the people, development of socialist democracy, assertion of human personality, people's active participation in the building of its own communist and socialist future.

We are acquainted with the efforts the Syrian people is making on the road of economic and social development, for raising material and spiritual well-being. We are highly appreciative of the activity you dear Comrade President al-Asad carry on at the head of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and of the Syrian Republic for economic and social development, for strengthening your country's independence and sovereignty. In keeping with our relations of friendship we wish you and the friendly Syrian people ever bigger successes in economic and social development, in building a strong and blossoming Syria while congratulating you on your achievements.

The talks we have started today, the exchange of views on developing bilateral cooperation will no doubt give a strong impact to cooperation between and development of both countries which is in the interest of our two peoples, of their progress and welfare.

As far as the international situation is concerned, I must say that it is our opinion that it has seriously aggravated. New conflicts and litigious issues have cropped up that put in jeopardy the people's independence and security, world peace. It can be said that the cardinal problem of our times is to prevent a new war, to ensure a durable peace--a decisive, essential condition for each people's economic-social development, for each nation's independence.

Starting herefrom, ever greater solidarity and cooperation are required among peoples, among all anti-imperialist and progressive forces everywhere to prevent the international situation from aggravating, for the resumption and firm continuation of the policy of detente and cooperation, of national independence and peace, for the settlement of all conflicts and disputes among states only by peaceful, negotiated means. Life, developments powerfully show that only the strong assertion of the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national sovereignty and independence, non-interference in internal affairs, renunciation of force and threat of force, the observance of each people's right to decide its own destiny, to develop freely according to its vital interests and aspirations are the guarantees of independence and world peace.

An important place in our talks is held by the struggle for a global lasting and just peace in the Middle East. Most resolute action is required for the settlement of problems and the achievement of a durable peace, on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied after the 1967 war, of the settlement of the Palestinian people's question--including its right to self-determination and establishment of its own, independent state--and for the ensurance of free and sovereign development of all states in the zone. In our opinion, a global settlement of the Middle East conflict requires more than at any other time the covening--under the aegis and with the participation of the UN--of an international conference attended by all sides concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

As far as the conflicts in other parts of the world are concerned, Romania is firmly for the cessation of military action for negotiations so that all these conflicts should be solved and peace and cooperation restored.

In consideration of the complex problems in Europe generated by arming and the accumulation of new nuclear weapons, Romania is firmly for the achievement of relations ruling out confrontation, of security and cooperation among all the states of the European Continent. To achieve that, Romania attaches great significance to the Madrid meeting, to the finding of the best ways for the steady implementation of the Helsinki agreements, for the passage to tangible military disengagement measures on the continent and the organization of a conference on European disarmament. At the same time, it is Romania's view that the continuation of the all-European conference should be ensured by new meetings, and proposed to that effect that the next meeting be held in Bucharest, the capital city of Socialist Romania. Unquestionably, progress in European cooperation, detente and disarmament will have a strong impact on the international life as a whole, will meet the interests of the peoples around the world.

Starting from the fact that the ensurance of peace is the fundamental question of our times, Romania most decisively declares for the cessation of the arms race--a heavy burden on all peoples' shoulders, that enhances the danger of military confrontations--against the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles and of new weapons in general in Europe and in the world, for the passage to practical and efficient measures of disarmament, of nuclear disarmament first of all, for the reduction of military budgets, of armed forces and armaments.

It is necessary to further strengthen the solidarity and collaboration of all developing countries, to most firmly act for the liquidation of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order, grounded on full equality and equity, meant for favour the more rapid progress of all states and, of the lagging countries in particular, to facilitate the peoples' broad access to the gains of modern civilization, of sciences, to secure the development and stability of world economy.

An important role in the settlement of the complex questions of the contemporary world devolves on the socialist countries, the developing countries, all the peoples that are for a policy of independence. It is imperative that the small- and medium-sized countries, the developing countries, the non-aligned countries more actively participate, in conditions of full equality in the settlement of all international questions. In this context, I would like to express the hope that the future conference of the foreign ministers of the non-aligned countries will allow of surmounting the questions occurred among these countries, of strengthening the non-aligned countries' solidarity, of increasing their role in solving the complex issues, in firmly promoting the policy of national independence, collaboration and peace all over the world.

We consider it necessary that the role and contribution of the UN and of other bodies should enhance in international life, in the democratic settlement of the major contemporary issues, in the promotion of peace and cooperation among nations.

I would like to mention with great satisfaction the more active cooperation between our parties and peoples internationally, and to express the conviction that our talks will contribute to the intensification of this cooperation--for the benefit of our peoples, of the cause of peace and collaboration, of the building of a more just and better world on our planet.

Dear Comrade al-Asad,

I am fully convinced that this visit will be a fresh contribution to the further consolidation of the Romanian-Syrian friendship and cooperation, will ensure the steady progress of both bilateral and international collaboration.

With this conviction I want to toast:

--To the ever more lasting friendship between our countries, peoples and parties.

--To the prosperity and happiness of the friendly Syrian people.

--To a durable and just peace in the Middle East, to European security, to cooperation, understanding and peace all over the world.

--To the health of my dear friend, President Hafiz al-Asad.

--To the health of all of you.

Al-Asad Dinner Speech

JN060753 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 2115 GMT 5 Feb 81

["Text" of 5 February speech delivered by Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad at a dinner hosted by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu in Bucharest--read by announcer]

[Text] President Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; Friends: I am very pleased to be among you again today in your beautiful capital Bucharest, thanks to the generous invitation extended to me by my dear friend President Ceausescu. I am also very pleased that we have again been given the opportunity to meet with the party and state leadership in the Socialist Republic of Romania and to once more convey the greetings of our people in Syria to you and to the friendly Romanian people, for whom we harbor the sincerest friendly feelings and who always surround us with similar feelings.

While expressing, on behalf of myself and of the Syrian delegation, our profound thanks for President Ceausescu's welcoming speech, which we have just listened to, and for the traditional hospitality always accorded us here in Romania, I stress our eagerness in Syria to strengthen the friendship between our two peoples and to expand the scope of cooperation between our two countries.

We are also pleased to note that the relations of friendship and cooperation between Syria and Romania have developed and prospered during the past few years. These relations have been a good example for relations based on mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit.

Our joint desire to continue the development of these relations and to expand their scope has been manifested throughout my meetings with President Ceausescu. The numerous agreements between our two parties and governments have achieved a cooperation that has benefited both the Syrian and Romanian peoples.

I would like to put on records here that the Romanian friends who have visited Syria under these agreements to contribute their great expertise to implementing the development projects in our country have always shown that they harbor great sentiments of friendship, that they harbor high feelings of responsibility and that they are devoted to exerting the required efforts in their work. I would like to convey to them our people's thanks and appreciation.

I am fully confident that our current visit and our meeting with President Ceausescu and the Romanian officials will give a new momentum to making the relations between Syria and Romania develop and prosper. Our previous visit to Romania had enabled us to clearly acquaint ourselves with the Romanian people's efforts under the wise leadership of President Ceausescu, in accordance with the Romanian Communist Party's programs for building a developed socialist society. We also acquainted ourselves with the many accomplishments of the Romanian people in this field. Also, President Ceausescu's visits and those of the Romanian officials to Syria have enabled you to familiarize yourselves with our people's efforts under the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party to build a developed socialist society and its requirements including expediting economic and social development.

In Syria, we are exerting our utmost efforts to overcome the problems and obstacles that are being caused by the situation in which our area finds itself. This situation had emerged as a result of Israel's aggression against the Arab land and people and as a result of U.S. all-out support for this aggression.

We know that peace provides a better atmosphere for development. But at the same time we are fully aware of the fact that the peace which can provide this atmosphere is the one which is based on justice and which removes aggression and its repercussions. The removal of aggression and its repercussions is attained by the return of land and rights to their legitimate owners. Any peace which lacks these components will be some sort of capitulation and carries within itself factors of explosion.

The UN Charter and the UN General Assembly resolutions have entrenched the bases of a just peace in our area. We base our clear-cut concept of peace on these. This concept is in harmony with the principles of justice and those of the United Nations. We have exerted sincere efforts toward achieving a peace based on Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in 1967 and on the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people. But the aggressor, and I mean Israel, has worked to make the peace issue a bargaining process over the land and rights, The continuing and mounting U.S. support for Israel has filled Israel with an avidity to be the winner in this bargaining. No people in the world would accept bargaining over their land and national rights and any ruler accepting this would undoubtedly suffer an overwhelming loss in the end. His loss would be a double one because, first, he would be a loser in the face of the enemy and, second, he would be loser in the eyes of his people, who would bring him to account sooner or later. There are many events in history that testify to this.

As for us in Syria, we repeat what we declared on the first day of the October liberation war in 1973, to the effect that we want peace based on justice and that we are working for it.

At the same time, however, we categorically reject any false peace that deceives us with its fabricated conditions for the hegemony of Zionism and of U.S. imperialism. We also reject Zionist and imperialist attempts aimed at providing falsehood with the strength of right by supplying it with armed force and legalizing aggression by imposing the status quo.

Here I am obliged to point out some of the results of the deal concluded between the Egyptian regime and Israel under the patronage of the United States. These include annexing Arab Jerusalem, considering Jerusalem as Israel's capital, entrenching and increasing Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories, adhering to occupied Arab territories and unequivocally disavowing the Palestinian people's rights. These results also include excessive U.S. support for Israeli aggression and its feverish endeavors to surround our area and seed it with military bases in order to threaten us and our natural resources and future.

Mr President, friends: The forces hostile to freedom, progress and stability are today planting our world with crises and returning it to the days of cold war and threats of force. This requires all anti-imperialist, peace-loving and progressive forces of all world peoples to unify their ranks and consolidate their efforts to repulse this dangerous trend. These forces are also required to increase their struggle in order to put a final end to the imperialist attempts to impose hegemony, deprive people of their rights, loot their national wealth and encroach on their independence.

We aspire to a world in which relations are established among countries on a basis of equality that can expedite the economic and social development of all peoples, foremost among whom are the developing peoples.

We believe that the United Nations Organization must be bolstered to play its important role in this field. We also believe that the Nonaligned Movement can effectively achieve this objective by means of its principles and its support for world liberation movements. Within this context, we believe that a consolidation of relations between Syria and Romania will contribute to achieving, on behalf of the struggle for the sake of the world, the objective of freedom, justice, peace and equality. Consequently, we look forward to strengthening these relations in the various fields of cooperation.

In the end, I greet my dear friend, President Ceausescu, wishing him continued health and happiness. I greet you, friends, wishing you also continued health and happiness. I greet the griendly Romanian people, wishing them continued success and progress and further accomplishments. I hope that Syrian-Romanian friendship will be strengthened.

ARMY COMMUNIST YOUTH MEMBERS HOLD MEETING

AU091548 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Feb 81 p 5

[Summary] "The army aktiv of the Union of Communist Youth [UCY] held a meeting on 6 February. The meeting discussed the tasks of youth bodies and organizations in the various commands, units and military institutes in the light of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at the review meeting with army aktiv and cadres, and of the guidelines issued by the supreme commander of our armed forces.

"The aktiv meeting was attended by Maj Gen Constantin Olteanu, member of the RCP Central Committee and minister of national defense; Pantelimon Gavanescu, candidate member of the RCP Central Committee and first secretary of the UCY Central Committee, minister for youth problems; and members of the leadership council of the Ministry of National Defense."

The participants sent Nicolae Ceausescu a telegram pledging to always implement party policies and the supreme commander's orders, and to increase the army youth's contribution to the country's progress.

SUNDIC URGES POLES TO AVOID 'ABYSS' OF ARMED FORCE

LD101652 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The resignation of Polish Premier Jozef Pinkowski and the PZPR Central Committee's proposal to replace him with Army General Jaruzelski, a Politburo member and the defense minister, points to the conclusion that various approaches to finding solutions to the current political crisis exist in the Polish state and party leadership. There may be a link between Pinkowski's resignation and the Polish Government statement 10 days ago announcing measures to establish order and discipline in accordance with constitutional authority, which was interpreted by many as a hint that a state of emergency might be introduced. Of course, Jozef Pinkowski took part and played a considerable role in composing the above government statement, but the great question is whether he was ready to see this statement carried out in the way envisaged.

General Jaruzelski, as premier and defense minister--and this it seems, is the essence of the change in the government leadership--will be able to be involved in both spheres, the political and the military, in establishing order and discipline in Poland. It is true that the fact that a general has been selected as premier does not necessarily mean that Poland has gained a military government. However, in view of the circumstances prevailing in the country and the difficulties which surround Poland, one gets the impression that the PZPR Central Committee sees no other way to resolve the existing crisis apart from one which would rely on armed force. This path assumes both the introduction of a state of emergency in the country--a ban on any political activity--and, in the extreme, the direct involvement of the army in establishing order in the country.

The Polish state and party leadership is increasingly closer to the assessments of Poland's allies regarding the situation in the country. Counterrevolution is mentioned more and more and there is less and less belief in a positive outcome of the dialogue between the government and the Solidarity trade union. Perhaps other views exist, but the dominant one is that which has conditioned the latest change in the state leadership.

It seems as if something similar is also taking place in the ranks of the Solidarity trade union. It is apparent that Lech Walesa has no control over the trade unions and it might also be said that the church's influence on general trends in the country is weakening increasingly. Therefore, everything demonstrates that Poland is closer to a negative outcome of the current situation than to a positive solution to it.

The situation is all the more serious in view of the fact that Polish events are being influenced increasingly from various sides by factors outside Poland. If there were fewer influences and pressures from outside, a solution to the crisis in which Poland has found itself would certainly be easier to find and would bear an exclusively Polish stamp. Now such a solution is further away then it has ever been since the outbreak of the crisis. The crisis has become so volatile that anything is possible, both the direct involvement of armed forces against the strikers, that is, the workers, and foreign military intervention.

Either one of these or both of them together are equally dangerous, not only for Poland, but also for Europe and the world as a whole. Perhaps we are not right, but it seems to us that there is no single effort so great or difficult which the Poles, that is, the government and the trade unions, should not make in order to avoid the abyss on the brink of which Poland finds itself. It is difficult to believe that there is no other solution apart from that currently hinted at.

TANJUG CITES SOVIET GDR ENVOY COMMENTS ON POLAND

LD101112 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0955 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Berlin, 9 Feb (TANJUG)--A statement by Soviet Ambassador to the German Democratic Republic Petr Abrasimov that "the Western allegations about noninterference in Polish internal affairs are fairy tales" has been assessed by observers in Berlin as a serious warning by Moscow as to "how far it can tolerate the developments in Poland" and an offer to continue the "peaceful dialogue with Washington on the basis of a balance of military and other interests." Ambassador Abrasimov made the statement in an interview which was broadcast on the first programme of the Federal Republic television in Berlin yesterday evening.

"All genuine Polish patriots have stated that the People's Republic of Poland has been and will remain an integral member of the family of socialist states", Ambassador Abrasimov stressed. In this context he added that "Soviet people are watching the current situation in Poland.

The Soviet ambassador's statement also contained some mild overtones concerning relations between the two German states and the status of West Berlin. He explicitly underlined that the "four-power agreement on Berlin has contributed towards stabilizing the situation in Europe over the past ten years". Ambassador Abrasimov said that the Soviet Union was ready for a "constructive dialogue for better relations with the United States in the interest of preserving world peace".

FEC PRESIDENT DJURANOVIC DEPARTS FOR FRG VISIT

LD101242 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Feb (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] left today for an official visit of several days to the FRG. FEC member Boris Snuderl, and Milos Melovski, assistant federal secretary of foreign affairs, left with him. At Belgrade airport Veselin Djuranovic was seen off by Dusan Ilijevic, member of the FEC; Ivica Cacic, secretary general of the FEC; and by several other senior officials of the FEC and of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs. Ekkenhard Hallensleven, charge d'affaires of the FRG Embassy in Yugoslavia, also saw him off.

Talks With Schmidt

LD110034 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2124 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Bonn, 10 Feb (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany are concerned about the deterioration in the political and economic situation in the world and consider it is the duty of all countries and entire international community to take without delay concrete steps towards overcoming this difficult situation in international relations. This is stressed in the first part of talks held here this afternoon between President of the Federal Executive Council Veselin Djuranovic and Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt.

As reported, Djuranovic and Schmidt stated their conviction that negotiations and the most responsible conduct of all countries are the only way leading to relaxation and the strengthening of international confidence. Within this context they discussed in particular the rising tension in relations between big powers and the difficulties encountered by the Madrid follow up to the European security and cooperation conference, the grave international situation which affects all countries, the acute problem of disarmament and the activities of the aligned movement. [as received]

Djuranovic and Schmidt noted with satisfaction that relations between Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic of Germany are developing favourably and expressed the conviction that there are broad possibilities for the further comprehensive promotion of these relations.

VRHOVEC SPEAKS AT NONALIGNED PLENARY SESSION

LD101120 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1219 GMT 9 Feb 81

[Text] New Delhi, 9 Feb (TANJUG)--Josip Vrhovec, federal secretary for foreign affairs, spoke during the general debate at this afternoon's plenary session of the conference of foreign ministers from nonaligned countries.

Vrhovec said: First I wish to thank the Government and people of India for the cordial hospitality accorded us, as well as the excellent conditions for our work. I also wish to congratulate you, Your Excellency, on your election as chairman of the conference, in the deep conviction that your experience and wisdom will contribute to its successful outcome.

We are particularly grateful to her excellency the prime minister of India, Mrs Indira Gandhi, for her personal and inspired contribution to our conference, which was made in the spirit of the best traditions of India. As one of the founders of nonalignment, India, the land of the great Nehru, one of the giants of our era, has made an enormous contribution to the affirmation and expansion of the policy of nonalignment and its indispensable role in contemporary history.

On this occasion I would also like to thank all our nonaligned friends for the expressions of sympathy and support sent to the peoples of Yugoslavia following the irreplaceable loss which affected them with the death of President Tito. We will continue consistently and with the greatest resolve to follow the path of true nonalignment of which President Tito was one of the founders and untiring champions.

We are faced with an exceptionally important and complex moment in international relations. The assessment that the world is at a crossroads has rarely been a more appropriate and exact expression than of the existing situation. The ever-increasing use of force and pressures, of interventions and interference, are the main causes of the dangerous deterioration in international relations.

This leads to an increase in the number of crisis flashpoints already existing in the world and stimulates new rivalries between the big powers and blocs. Their global strategies and interests lead to an expansion of spheres of influence and the phenomenon of new fo ns of foreign domination. Examples of deep crises such as those in the Middle and Near East, southwest and Southeast Asia, southern Africa and elsewhere are the best confirmation of this. The first and direct victims of such a development are the small and medium-sized independent and nonaligned countries.

Yugoslavia's stand in relation to all these crises arises out of the principles of the UN Charter and the policy of nonalignment. We see solutions solely in the return to consistent respect for the norms of international life from which the use of force and interference must be eliminated and in which the right of peoples to independence and autonomous decisionmaking on their own fate is fully affirmed.

Our stand in relation to the crisis in the Middle East and the Palestinian issue remains unchanged. Following the continuation of Israeli aggression, this crisis is constantly increasing. That is why we need to continue to call forcefully for an unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; we need to offer full support for the national rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and their own sovereign Palestinian state and to seek the recognition of the PLO as the only representative of the Palestinian people and an equal partner in all negotiations. Only by this means can one achieve a just solution to this crisis and establish a lasting and just peace in the interests of all peoples and countries of this region.

The crisis flashpoint in Southeast Asia is filled with the danger of spreading to become a conflict of broader dimensions. Today, too, we think that the solution to this danger is to be found in the search for a political solution which assumes the withdrawal of foreign troops, a ban on foreign interference and the realization of conditions which will enable the people of Kampuchea, itself, to fully realize their sovereign rights and establish the independent and nonaligned status of their country, as was contained in the UN General Assembly resolution.

We also view with concern the dangers which the continuation of the Afghanistan crisis brings with it. We want the solution to this crisis, too, to be found within political limits, which is also discussed in the UN General Assembly resolution calling for the Afghan people to determine their own way of life, including the withdrawal of foreign troops and a ban on foreign interference.

We want all disputes to be resolved by peaceful means and we are ready, with this aim in mind, to make maximum efforts within the framework of the Nonaligned Movement and the United Nations.

Therefore, we are in favor of the right of the Korean people to be unified by peaceful means.

Proceeding from the full recognition of the right of every people to self-determination, we consider that it must not be denied to the people of the Western Sahara either, nor should our full support be denied to the Polisario Front.

As regards the crisis on Cyprus, we wish to welcome the start of intercommunal talks in the hope that they will lead to a just solution in the joint life of the two Cypriot communities in a united, independent and nonaligned state without foreign occupation or interference.

We also view with anxiety the development of events in the region of southwest Asia, the Gulf and the Indian Ocean, in which the strengthening of rivalry between the blocs could lead to new tensions and threats to peace and independence for the countries in that region. We will continue to support the creation of a peace zone in the Indian Ocean.

We consider that in these regions, as well as in the region of the Caribbean, Latin America and elsewhere, the sovereign rights of peoples to live in peace and security and to fight for their own social progress and political emancipation must be fully recognized and respected.

We are convinced that it is high time that the process of decolonization come to an end, without which it will not even be possible to realize stable peace and security in the world. No kind of military-strategic, political or economic interests can be an excuse for the continuation of colonial rule, the imposition of new forms of neocolonial independence or any form of foreign domination and hegemony.

Although the era of colonialism is ending, we are still confronted with the feverish continuation of the racist regime in South Africa to carry out apartheid and maintain Namibia under illegal occupation and terror. We think that in this critical moment it is precisely the duty of the nonaligned countries to speak once again their unreserved support for the just struggle of the Namibian people, which is being led to its liberation under the leadership of South-West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and to increase their political, moral and material assistance.

It is also essential that our conference once again supports the frontline states in the defense of their independence and territorial integrity and their right to live in peace and security so as to be able to devote themselves to working toward the well-being and progress of their own people.

From the very beginning we have regretted very much the armed conflict between the two nonaligned countries, Iraq and Iran. The continuation of this conflict brings heavy human and material damage to these countries, weakens their independence and holds back their development. Our concern is increased with the danger of the spreading of the conflict and the insertion of bloc strategic interests into this very sensitive region.

We appeal to both countries, which are members of our movement, to find a solution by peaceful means to their disputes and unresolved questions so as to be able to establish mutual trust and create the conditions for the development of friendly and good-neighborly relations on the basis of a just solution based on the principles of the UN Charter and of nonalignment.

The Nonaligned Movement must remain ready to offer its good offices to them on this. The Belgrade consultative meeting of six ministers was aimed at this and is in the best tradition of our movement.

Bearing in mind the dangers which arise out of the increase in crisis flashpoints on all sides of the globe, our conference needs to recommend that the UN General Assembly adopt a declaration on the inadmissibility of interventions and interference in the internal affairs of states. We believe that this will have a positive effect on more responsible behavior by states in international relations.

When we speak about the major contradictions of our time and the deep difficulty which occupies the world's attention, we must not omit the constantly growing arms race and the dangerous deepening of the gap between the industrially developed and developing countries.

Instead of an end to the arms race, it is speeding up constantly with the excuse of a search for balance. It swallows up enormous resources in the budgets of the richest countries, while hunger, illness and poverty rage throughout the world.

Instead of our being led to a just system of economic relations by realism, short-sightedness and selfishness on the part of the richest persists in the maintenance of the old system based on privileged which have been won.

All these are explosive elements in a general world situation which is already disturbed.

Unless we continue to all work together persistently on the elimination of these causes and on hindering such practices in international life, then the world will be affected by new waves of tension and its exacerbation. Then bloc confrontations and an increased tendency towards a cold war would become the dominant characteristics of a world which is disturbed and torn apart by fear.

In nonalignment we see the main political and moral force for the struggle against these dangers. Nonalignment has become a significant positive factor in international life precisely because it has been consistent in the struggle against all forms of foreign domination, against the bloc division of the world and in favor of peace, equality and security for all.

It is fortunate for our world that peoples and countries are increasingly less willing to bow down before assault by force. The voice of resistance and refusal against this is increasingly stronger and more forceful. Peoples tend more and more to want to decide their own fate in a sovereign way. This convinces us that it is possible to overcome the current stagnation, so that the international community will be able to confront the real problems of the world and the needs of mankind with more responsibility. The policy of nonalignment has become a strong weapon in favor of this emancipation.

We wish to emphasize in particular here the need for our movement to respond to these demands in the correct way.

Precisely these exceptional circumstances led to the decision for us to meet as soon as possible and to do everything in our power to end such an unfavorable development in international relations. The dramatic course by these deteriorations concerns everyone in the world.

As frequently in the past, the eyes of the world are once again turned towards us and our conference. The world expects from us as a global and independent factor a contribution in searching for peaceful solutions to open international problems. We are convinced that there is no alternative to active peaceful coexistence. In this spirit we advocate the strengthening of the process of relaxation, which must be universal and encompass all regions and all spheres of international life, with the active participation of all countries.

The world has become used to hearing the right word from the nonaligned at the right time. That is why clear standpoints and markers are expected from our conference.

We must not betray those hopes, for without nonalignment the prospects for the world will seem very gloomy. This above all means our advocation of the earliest possible elimination of existing crisis flashpoints and the resolution of key international problems which have been burdening the world for years.

Nevertheless, it would be dangerous to harbor illusions that peace and stability in the world can be consolidated while at the same time the right of peoples of their freedom and independence is disputed.

A solution to the present crises can only be found if all peoples gain the possibility of freely deciding on their own fate, and if every country's independence, territorial integrity and security is respected.

Because of our obligation to carry out our duty towards mankind with the greatest of responsibility, we must constantly consider and analyze the situation and state of relations in our movement as well.

We must also apply to ourselves that which we want to carry out in the world. Only in this way will our contribution to the world in which we live meet with undivided recognition and acceptance. Viewing things in this light, we must be increasingly more concerned over the disputes and conflicts between individual nonaligned countries, within our movement. They are very often based in the earlier period of colonial domination, or are the product of current conflicts between the strategic interest of the blocs and big powers. Bloc factors even today try to use existing objective differences between the interests of individual nonaligned countries for their own purposes.

Precisely because of this, our movement and all of us have very great responsibilities. Our movement must make new efforts to strengthen the possibility of the peaceful resolution of disputes between the nonaligned. On this, reason, goodwill and trust should speak, and not pressures and arms, so that conflagrations which break out do not cause enormous material destruction and human losses for the countries in the conflict, weaken their independence and inflict harm on the prestige of nonalignment. We need to promote patiently and persistently everything that strengthens general solidarity in our movement and true good neighborliness between nonaligned countries.

Differences in standpoints of nonaligned countries in relation to individual major problems and crises in the world are also a fact with which we are confronted. We are conscious that these differences are sometimes the kind that prevent our movement from acting together.

This is a reality with which we must live. But at the same time, we must continue democratic dialogue and our constant efforts to build up and carry out joint policy based on the principles and aims of nonalignment to which we aspire in the general sphere. It is encouraging that the significance of this need is understood increasingly more broadly within our movement.

We aspire towards unity while respecting differences, but this is only possible with the maintenance of basic democratic relations which have been built up in the movement since its very beginning. On this basis we have built up consensus as a means of unity and community in action, which enables the movement and its mainstream to act successfully even in very complex situations.

On this, it is important to emphasize that the existence of differences is not a reason for us to limit the attention and involvement of the movement only to those questions on which there is full agreement among us. This would lead us into a passive state which is wished upon us by opponents of the Nonaligned Movement and its policy, so as to neutralize us as an independent, nonbloc factor in international relations. The experiences we have gained in this connection in the last year are valuable.

Despite the gloomy picture of the world which confronts us, as well as the difficulties which arise among us, there is no reason for lack of confidence in our own forces. This is especially so at a time when the Nonaligned Movement is affirming itself more and more and is enjoying greater prestige and has more crucial influence than ever before.

The policy of nonalignment as a global factor in international relations is best reflected at the United Nations.

The nonaligned countries have contributed to the United Nations playing an increased significant role in the efforts to have conflicts resolved by peaceful means as well as in providing a platform for disarmament and for the building of new international economic relations.

We are convinced that the United Nations cannot be bypassed in seeking solutions for the most important international problems which concern the world as a whole.

Yugoslavia attaches exceptional significance to the participation of European states in the conferences of the nonaligned and in their activities. We have always advocated that the problems of Europe and the Mediterranean find their relevant place in the preoccupations of the Nonaligned Movement while, on the other hand, the principles of nonalignment should be present to the greatest possible degree in European processes. On this occasion I would like to stress the exceptionally useful and good cooperation which European nonaligned and neutral countries are developing within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The present conference in Madrid testifies to this.

Mr Chairman, the establishment of the new international economic order, the initiative for which has been provided by nonaligned and other developing countries, is in the interest of all countries as well as of the world economy as a whole.

Therefore, the path of constructive and equitable cooperation is the principled orientation of nonaligned and other developing countries. Some developed countries are still not manifesting political readiness for such a cooperation and this has led to a lengthy stagnation in the present negotiations between the developed and developing countries.

At their sixth conference, the nonaligned countries formulated a new initiative in the form of a concept of global talks.

The global talks aim at more comprehensive and more long-term solutions of the key problems of the world economy. Only solutions which satisfy the interests of all countries, and in particular of developing countries, can be realistic and lasting.

It is high time for the developed countries, on which this also depends most, to make possible an as early as possible beginning of global talks within the framework of the UN system. Such negotiations could become a significant factor in promoting equitable international economic cooperation and democratization of international relations as a whole and this would lead to the stabilization of circumstances and greater security of our troubled world.

In fighting for a more just economic order in the world, the nonaligned countries have correctly paid great attention also to mutual economic cooperation. This is the component part of their efforts in promoting their own economic development and a fundamental factor in the strategy of their struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The past year was particularly marked by intensive activity in the direction of a concrete realization of political guidelines for the consolidation of collective reliance on one's own forces. We believe that conditions have matured for us already at this conference directing ourselves towards the adoption of action-oriented and concrete decisions on all main sectors of mutual cooperation, including energy. What should be stressed in particular here is the problem of food, the resolving of which, due to its most acute state, does not allow any delays. Furthermore, there continues to exist the urgent need for us to deal with problems of the least developed as well as of other developing countries which are in an exceptionally difficult position.

We could discuss all this in greater detail at the ministerial conference of the Group of 77, which will be devoted to mutual economic cooperation, and which will be held in Caracas.

Within the context of the entirety of economic actions, full and timely implementation of the international strategy for development has special significance, though some of its premises have not satisfied the justified and legitimate demands of developing countries. It will be all the more necessary to engage the entire system of the United Nations in the implementation of this strategy.

We hope that agreement on strategy will exert a positive influence on the adoption of the decision on global negotiations which should in fact be the most important stage and the instrument of implementation of the development strategy.

The Nonaligned Movement can fulfill its historical role if it preserves and further develops its unity, based on the consistent application of the original principles of the policy of nonalignment and mutual respect and consideration of nonaligned countries.

The policy of nonalignment expresses the objective aspirations and the needs of mankind for peace and progress and it is in this that its moral and political strength lies.

The role of the Nonaligned Movement countries in strengthening peace and security of the world will be all the more significant if we preserved our genuine independent and nonbloc position. In our conviction this is the fundamental prerequisite also for the successful struggle against imperialism and colonialism as well as all aspects of foreign domination and hegemony.

Nonalignment is not directed at taking part in bloc rivalries but at creating a new world in which independence and freedom, national and social development in peace, equality and security will be accessible to all peoples and to all countries.

Precisely due to such of its nature and role in present-day world relations, nonalignment has become a permanent historical value.

It continues to be our obligation to fulfill the hopes and expectations which mankind has linked with this policy. We believe that this conference of ours will confirm once again our adherence to the principles and goals of genuine nonalignment and, on this basis, determine the directions of our joint struggle for peace, independence, equality, justice and dignity of all peoples and nations.

Meets Foreign Counterparts

LD101330 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1141 GMT 10 Feb 81

["Pool" item]

[Text] New Delhi, 10 Feb (TANJUG)--The conference of nonaligned countries' foreign ministers, which opened here yesterday, has been an opportunity for numerous contacts between members of the Yugoslav delegation and representatives of other friendly countries.

Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Josip Vrhovec has had separate meetings with Foreign Ministers Jackson of Guyana, Rao of India, Malmierca of Cuba, Ben Yahia of Algeria, Rolandhis of Cyprus, Salim of Tanzania, Haq of Bangladesh, At-Turayki of Libya, Ho Tam of the DPR of Korea, Rithauddeen of Malaysia, and head of the PLO Political Department Qaddumi.

Views on the subjects on the conference agenda and other international topics of mutual interests were exchanged in these contacts. Bilateral relations and Yugoslavia's cooperation with the countries concerned were also discussed.

Report on Meeting

LD102040 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1646 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] New Delhi, 10 Feb (TANJUG)--Well-informed circles here assess today that the New Delhi non-aligned ministerial conference may formulate the non-aligned countries' common stand on Afghanistan.

This would be a major step in view of the foreign ministers' having come to the New Delhi conference with considerably different views on the issue.

The general debate yesterday and today, however, often called for a clear demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Afghanistan and allowing the Afghan people alone to decide on its fate, without foreign interference of military or other nature.

Since the original text of the declaration prepared, as is customary, by the host-country, did not include such a formula, the political committee held extensive discussions on the issue. Today's discussion in the committee, working behind closed doors, was attended by the representatives of 34 countries, it has been learned. A large majority urged for a formulation which would include the demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops. The committee formed a working group of four, which is, on the basis of the discussions, to prepare a draft text to be again discussed and adjusted.

A discussion on Kampuchea is underway, it has been learned, which will be made easier if an "Afghan formula" is found, since in the case of both countries there is the matter of the presence of foreign troops.

DIZDAREVIC RECEIVES JASEMI, IRANIAN DELEGATION

LD110231 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Feb (TANJUG)--Nijaz Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber's Committee for Foreign Policy, today received a delegation of the Iranian Government, led by Dr 'Abdollah Jasemi, deputy prime minister, which is on a visit of several days to Yugoslavia. In friendly talks, the head of the Iranian delegation presented the detailed attitudes of his government on the results so far and goals of the Iranian revolution in all spheres, that is economic, political, social and cultural. Particular reference was made to the difficulties which have stood in the way of the full implementation of the aspirations of the revolution and which also are now slowing down the revolution.

The talks and the present visit of the Iranian delegation were assessed by both sides as very useful for better understanding, mutual acquaintance and the promotion of mutual cooperation. For his part, Nijaz Dizdarevic stressed that the people and government of Yugoslavia from the very beginning supported the authentic Iranian revolution and welcomed the orientation of the Iranian people toward independent development without foreign domination, within a system which the people itself would chose.

In congratulating the guests on the second anniversary of the revolution, which falls today, Dizdarevic stressed the significance of the nonaligned foreign policy of Iran and he welcomed the results which the revolution has achieved so far in the country's transformation and in the position of the Iranian people.

Dizdarevic acquainted the guests with the experiences of the Yugoslav revolution and with the struggle of the people of Yugoslavia for national independence, sovereignty and equality of nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia as well as with the position of religious communities and the freedom to express religious affiliation in our country.

In the afternoon talks, which are in progress, issues linked with the Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict and bilateral cooperation between the two countries are being discussed.

KOSOVO ASSEMBLY ADOPTS 1981 ECONOMIC RESOLUTION

AU101935 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 81 p 4

[S.H. report]

[Text] Pristina, 6 Feb--At today's joint session of all three chambers of the Kosovo Assembly, delegates heard a report by Bahri Oruci, president of the Executive Council of the Kosovo Assembly, on the draft resolution on Kosovo's socioeconomic development this year. This important document was then adopted at separate sessions of chambers at which the main debate was held.

Bahri Oruci also spoke about Kosovo's development last year, stressing that despite objective circumstances and subjective weaknesses further material development of the province was noted. This year, it should be expected that the economy's overall social product will increase at a rate of 6.2 percent, industry at a rate of 5.5 percent and that of agriculture and other economic activities 3 percent.

Impetus to Processing Industry

An increase is envisaged in the electricity generating industry, along with increased production of coal and in other brances, primarily of the processing industry. A significant share in industrial production will be contributed by new plants which will be put into operation in the course of the year (a factory producing galvanized sheet metal, new production facilities for the factory producing seam pipes, new cement mills, a factory producing industrial and nickel-cadmium batteries and other smaller projects).

It is also expected that existing capacities will be better utilized, that labor productivity will increase, that work will be better organized and that the responsibility toward work and working tasks will be increased.

The directions of agriculture's development are in increased production of wheat and industrial crops, meat and other products, along with maximum involvement by not merely the social sector of agriculture within the framework of the "agricultural complex," but also a linkage of the social sector of agriculture with private agricultural producers. Greater production of sugar beets, oil yielding plants, vegetables and other industrial crops is insisted on in order to achieve more economic utilization of the existing processing capacities and a better supply of the province's market with the basic farm food produce. To achieve this it is indispensable to include and to involve scientific and professional institutions.

Despite the fact that the adopted rates are realistic, there will be problems, particularly in ensuring certain raw materials and producer goods for industry.

In the field of trade with foreign countries it is envisaged that exports will increase at a rate of 7.1 percent and that imports will be smaller than last year.

Restraining All Kinds of Expenditures

It is expected that some 10,000 new jobs will be provided this year. However, despite this fact, it will not have a significant influence on a reduction of the number of unemployed because new generations of workers are constantly arriving, primarily of skilled workers who are looking for work. For this reason efforts must be made to employ them outside the province also. In view of the adopted positions on the urgent need for Kosovo's faster development, in relation to the country's average development, investments will increase 15.6 percent as compared with last year.

Resources will be directed toward completing the projects under construction and toward constructing new plants which will ensure increased exports and reduced imports, all of which will have its influence on improving the economic structure and increasing income and employment.

To achieve all this, it was said, it is necessary to comprehensively involve all factors of development and to ensure a slower increase in all kinds of expenditures above the level of social product and income. The chambers also adopted several bills and normative acts in economic and other activities and gave its view on Yugoslavia's draft social plan for the current development plan.

MIKULIC CRITICIZES 'IRRESPONSIBLE WORK, BEHAVIOR'

AU102030 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Feb 81 p 6

["Excerpts from an article by Branko Mikulic" in 6 February OSLOBODJENJE: "About 'Marketplace Chatter'"]

[Excerpts] We often come across individuals who "specialize" in idle talk in corridors about all and everything and most willingly about the work of other people and about their abilities and merits, about the tasks they are performing, about the positions they hold and so forth. All that usually amounts to intrigues and to criticism of those who work and, understandably, can also make mistakes while the others wait for them in ambush and furtively throw sticks and stones at them. The individuals of this "type" are easily recognizable. This is what Branko Mikulic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, says among other things in his article entitled "About Chatter and Some Other Things" in yesterday's OSLOBODJENJE.

Excluding those who use such means as a method of political struggle against certain cadres (because they lack the courage to state their real reasons), the majority of "slanderers" have been in fact infected by this disease because they have been drowned in various petit bourgeois combinations, assumptions and gossip and because they do not participate in everyday social activities but only watch them from the sidelines.

About Those Who Know Everything

There are also those who speak "knowledgeably" about everything, know everything, are informed about everything, impart "firsthand" information to others and give advice to others, but they themselves do not act according to them or even act contrary to what they speak. Among them there are also the so-called "organizers of cliques" and improvisers who very successfully launch "great ideas" but do nothing to carry them out. They insist that others should do that while they themselves "stay on duty" and "watch" how the ideas are carried out and they "criticize" others because they do not follow them to the letter (they in fact behave destructively).

Let us also mention those who oppose all forms of organized human work and control, discipline and order and who pledge and assume obligations but do not fulfill them.

Unfortunately this logic has begun to penetrate the minds of a certain number of younger people. Among them and especially among those who have completed higher education there are also those who want to have everything that their parents have and more and they want it even before they start working. And what is even worse, they believe that rather than expending their own energy, someone should given them everything....

Against Negligence and Irresponsibility

There are many cases illustrating all that. I will only mention a recent example. We are now preparing for the Olumpic games. We want to become a world winter recreation and tourist center. We have all the natural and other conditions for that and not only in the region where the Olympic games will be held. But unfortunately there are among us unscrupulous individuals who devalue and jeopardize all that by their irresponsible work and behavior. How else is it possible to explain, for instance, that the "snow-leveling" machines and "lifts" failed to work on Jahorina Mountain, that the hotels and restaurants failed to provide proper services and so forth. This irresponsible behavior by individuals causes the greatest damage and amounts to counter-propaganda for the Olympic games. And we are very (excessively) sensitive to any press criticisms of such occurrences. Some individuals are even inclined to gossip that this criticism is aimed against the Olympic games and, through association, also against the city and the republic. We obviously must adopt a clear position on that. For the preparations for the Olympic games and certainly the reputation of the city and the republic are not jeopardized by the criticism of irresponsible actions of individuals but precisely by that irresponsible behavior of the individuals.

Therefore it must be stated quite openly that, in the interest of good preparations for the Olympic games and in the interest of the development of the city and the republic, it is necessary to open fire with all "guns" on negligence and irresponsibility and on the logic of responding even to constructive criticism by saying "what do you want, where would you find it better" or by lightly labeling criticism as hostile action and so forth. We must resolutely oppose this logic and find the strength (and the courage) to admit to ourselves and to publicly say that in Yugoslavia, in Europe and in the world there are now many better organized winter sports centers than the one in Bosnia-Hercegovina and that our ambition now must be to achieve what has already been achieved elsewhere and to make our potential to become a great winter recreation and tourist center a reality with good work, organization and discipline....

LCY OFFICIAL DISCUSSES SELF-MANAGEMENT WITH SVIJET

LD081410 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0730 GMT 8 Feb 81

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 8 Feb (TANJUG)--Tito's initiative represents a natural and at the same time necessary new democratic quality in the further development of socialist self-management, and its implementation is fundamental for the preparations for the League of Communists Congress and for work and conclusions during the preparations.

This, among other things was stressed by Hrvoje Istuka, secretary of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina Central Committee Presidium, in an interview with the Sarajevo weekly SVIJET.

Answering a question on whether some elements of the initiative are being simplified and whether methods of procedure are regarded as of primary importance, Istuk stressed that the activity on implementing Tito's initiative cannot be reduced to methods of procedure or only to organizational preparations. The initiative is real, he said, only when and if it is turned toward the working man, his position in associated labor and society as a whole. Its realization, in essence, means the prevention of bureaucratic and technocratic behavior, of usurping the self-management rights of working people and citizens, "leaderism" [liderstvo] and the like. Briefly, this is a question of the further democratic transformation of society as a whole and not of the "introduction" of collective leadership in this or that social or state organ. The feeling of collective work and responsibility is increasingly establishing itself in practive as an element of social and ideological awareness, as a vital component of the method of social and political activity.

SVIJET also asked the following question: It is apparent that there have been and there still are different approaches to some questions of the policy of development of the insufficiently developed regions. For example, in a recent interview with NIN, Comrade Stane Dolanc spoke polemically about the issue which, in his interpretation, can be summed up as follows: "Even when a republic or province has a national income of $30,000 per person and my republic or province $20,000 per person, we still must talk about inequality, meaning a different level of development. I believe there is a limit at which we must stop talking about insufficient development which also means inequality." In this connection, Comrade Dolanc was particularly surprised that "this could be heard from serious people."

I would say serious people can and should speak like that, and such an illustration can be used even by the most responsible people, replied Istuk. If in our Yugoslav conditions we talk about faster development of the economically insufficiently developed areas, he went on, then basically this is primarily a question of relations and not figures. If this is accepted then it is perfectly clear [words indistinct] the comparison you have quoted. What it says is that economic equality must also be the foundation of our overall relations in all circumstances. If this is a fact, then figures are merely figures. Relations expressed in figures which signify "limits" of development, about which we can talk only arbitrarily, can illustrate in the first place the character and essence of what socialist self-management Yugoslavia cannot understand by the term faster development of those who are insufficiently developed.

In some sections of the Yugoslav press "there has been a weakening of the ability" to recognize certain phenomena in one's own environment, the next question stated. Various larger and smaller fry, Istuk says, deliberately overlook mistakes and omissions in so-called "one's own" environment and travel hundreds of kilometers to "other environments" to write about happenings there. This is a calculated game. If someone comes to write about the construction of the assembly building in the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, about its alleged luxuries, etc, and has at the same time overlooked, the existence of various buildings in the town from which he comes--and buildings in other towns through which he passed--then I cannot believe his good intentions.

Answering a question on whether there are, in some environments, the phenomena of presenting what has been anathematized as an achievement, Istuk said there are such phenomenon, and illustrated it by mentioning the fact that VJESNIK carried a review of Lubarda's book "Transformation" ["Preobrazenje"]. I am certain, and ready for any number of discussions to prove, that the basic thing it conveys is--darkness. It is the age-old hatred between Serbs and Muslims in a part of Bosnia, the hatred which goes on and on and which, according to the book, will go on forever.

Bearing this in mind, and forgetting its esthetic merits, it should be given a big social reproach. In some circles it has been proposed for a social prize.

Talking about the activity of opposition groups, Istuk said their activity is helped by mystifications. For example, I would support the idea that at least parts of the book by Djilas, that pamphlet against Tito, be published, because after publication of this pamphlet, Djilas (?faced confrontation) even in the West and pushed himself even deeper into greater treason. If people read this, they will know who they were dealing with, even those who have not read Proudhon, Bakunin, etc., will be able to see that what Djilas offers contains anarchism and not democracy, particularly not socialism and socialist democracy.

In conclusion, Istuk said, in Sarajevo too, in some faculty departments and publishing houses or more precisely around them, there were little groups of people whose behavior and activities are not in the field of creativity but are sometimes in the field of the conservative and reactionary.

DJILAS CRITICIZES CONTINUATION OF 'TITOISM'

LD111017 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 27 Jan 81 p 7

[Frits Schaling interview with Milovan Djilas: "Tito's Heavy Hand Still Ruling Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Stane Dolanc, former secretary of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia who a couple of years ago was still seen as one of those with the best chance of succeeding Tito, but wo for the last 18 months has been no more than one of the 23 members of the collective party presidium, was not saying anything new when he remarked in a magazine interview last week that the term "the post-Tito period" has no meaning. "I consider the present period to be the Tito period, for in essence his policies are being continued."

Evidently Dolanc, like the majority of the Yugoslav leaders, sees this as something positive and a result of the fact that Yugoslavia has tried to follow a course designed to get through the period after Tito's death on 4 May 1980 "painlessly."

Others, such as the now 69-year-old Milovan Djilas, initially a friend, comrade-in-arms and confidant of Tito, but from 1954 his bitterest opponent, call the present situation "stagnation."

"The authorities are right when they say that there is no question of a post-Titoism," Djilas said. "This is the continuation of Tito's policies, but without such an authoritative figure as Tito."

Through all kinds of actions against attempts at renewal, the Yugoslav authorities have made it clear in the last few months that there can be no question of liberalization. At the same time there is, however, a broad undercurrent in Yugoslav society striving for changes in the system and for more openness.

Djilas: "Intellectual groups in Yugoslavia and people who have shown themselves to be critics in the past have been hoping for limited changes. But these have not come about; on the contrary, repression is being extended, including bans and arrests. For this reason the present situation is perceived as a deterioration in comparison with the Tito period. But in fact only the economy has deteriorated."

As symptoms of the hard line in the behavior of the Yugoslav authorities Djilas mentioned the ban on the attempts of writer Dobrica Cosic and critical philosophy lecturer Ljubomir Tadic to set up a new magazine, JAVNOST.

He also mentioned accusations of "hostile propaganda" which have been levelled at Croatian historian Franjo Tudjman and poet Vlado Gotovac, the confirmation of the sentence of 7 years against writer Momcilo Selic, who published an anti-Tito pamphlet a year ago, and finally the sentence on a Serbian priest in Bosnia who was sentenced to 6 years for singing "nationalistic" songs.

As far as Djilas himself is concerned the press campaign directed against him occasioned by his book "Comrades With Tito" lasted longer than normal. In a 27-page criticism of Djilas' memoirs Professor Muhic reproaches him for having substituted his own subconscious for Tito's consciousness, whatever that was supposed to mean.

Muhic also developed the thesis that there can be no question of democratization of pluralism in Yugoslavia, because these would reawaken the nationalist forces in Croatia and Serbia, the Ustashi and the Chetniks respectively.

Djilas does not accept this opinion: "The argument does not hold water," he said. "Before the war there was one system in Yugoslavia, not a democracy, but probably a more liberal system than the present one, under which the Ustashi and the Chetniks were not very strong. We would have to test democratization to find out if Muhic's view is true. I personally believe that certain elements of the groups would raise their heads, but they would never predominate. That is all past. Just now I have the impression that the hatred between the different nationalities in Yugoslavia is not growing. I myself believe that in Croatia, for example, anti-Yugoslav sentiments and separatism have grown weaker and the feeling that problems must be solved in the Yugoslav context is stronger."

"A paper like GLAS KONCILA (the fortnightly organ of the Catholic Church in the Croatian Federal Republic) is not anti-Yugoslav at all. And when I spoke to Tudjman a couple of years ago, I had the impression that he had no separatist views at all. He only wanted more freedom in Yugoslavia and more political autonomy for Croatia."

The confirmation of the sentence on Selic--"I understood their passing a harsh sentence during Tito's illness, but hoped that they would have reduced it to 2-3 years as soon as that was all past"--Djilas sees as a sign that there is a movement of hardliners in the Yugoslav leadership who are striving to hold onto all power. "They have built up a personality cult around Tito, and this is maintained so that they can use it themselves. The West has assisted in this and is still doing so. It is of course beyond dispute that Tito was a very important figure, but Mao was too. However, Djilas does not foresee that what is now happening in China will also happen in Yugoslavia in the near future with Tito as the central figure.

"But the Tito cult as it now is cannot last for long. That is impossible. For it contains so many untruths, so many false elements, and so many constructed and invented things."

How does Djilas view Yugoslav foreign policy since the death of Tito?

"There are changes, but they very are difficult to perceive. I believe that the attitude to the Soviet Union is not as energetic nor as clear as it was during the invasion of Afghanistan and at the time when Tito was still alive. In communiques Afghanistan and Kampuchea are hardly mentioned at all any more. This means that Yugoslavia is prepared to accept them gradually as fait accomplis. Of course, the government still sticks to the line on noninterference and the like, but it is striking that in official announcements, such as the most recent one when French Premier Barre was visiting Belgrade, the Yugoslavs avoided the question, while Barre spoke of Afghanistan openly.

"Also cooperation with the Soviet Union at the party level has been renewed. It had been suspended in the past. There has been a study group from the Soviet party on a visit to renew cooperation. This is a sign of ideological weakness in the Yugoslav party. For the Russians the mere news of such weakness is sufficient. It means moral support for them in the present circumstances involving difficulties in Poland and Afghanistan. There has thus been a weakening in the Yugoslav attitude to the Soviet Union, although I do not believe that there will be any radical changes.

"As far as the nonaligned movement is concerned the situation is extremely critical. It is a noneffective movement that is about to disintegrate. Nonaligned countries are at war with each other. It is ridiculous to talk about cooperation. The movement has, in my opinion, no prospects at all. Yugoslavia is still trying to play a role in the movement, but what sort of a role is it trying to play? Hammering on the fundamental principles of the movement is an empty tale without any meaning.

"The most important countries, except Yugoslavia, have left the movement, either partly or completely. Egypt is completely on the side of the West. India, half in and half with the Soviet Union, has accepted the occupation of Kampuchea and is well on the way to accepting the occupation of Afghanistan. As far back as 2 years ago, I said that disintegration had started, and this process is continuing. Although Tito probably won a moral, theoretical victory in Havana in 1979 on fundamental principles, in fact the Cubans and the pro-Russian countries won as regards of concrete questions.

"As far as foreign policy is concerned Yugoslavia is now faced with a dilemma--on the one hand there are practical matters, the economy, life, the considerations which force Yugoslavia in the direction of Western Europe, and on the other hand ideology draws Yugoslavia toward the nonaligned nations.

"This means that there is an internal contradiction in Yugoslav foreign policy and that cannot lead to great results."

Finally, Djilas also sees contradictions and uncertainty in the Yugoslav attitude to events in Poland. "To start with the Yugoslav Government kept quiet, then the press wrote openly and in detail about the strikes and was almost enthusiastic about the establishment of a free trade union movement, but recently the Polish Government line has been dominant."

Does Djilas believe that the situation in Poland is now untenable and impossible?

"From the very beginning I have thought that the Russians would intervene, but that the whole business would be very difficult and dangerous for Moscow. The Russians have now found a way to exert very strong pressure on Poland, via the Polish Government, but also through other channels, including the church. The Russians have chosen a method of strangling the movement in Poland through manipulation and threats.

"Of course I hope that my prediction is not correct, but it is clear to me that the Russians will not let the Poles off so lightly. It is perhaps possible that through an energetic approach on the part of the West, and through the utmost preparedness on the part of the Poles for possible fighting, a situation could in theory arise in which the Russians would gradually allow the Poles to follow a new direction, let us say, the one in which Yugoslavia has moved. But this is only a theoretical supposition. For this to be possible there would also have to be reasonable prospects for the Russians of a peaceful solution to the problems in Europe and a parallel weakening of the alliances. For the situation in Poland weakens the Warsaw Pact. There would also have to be a corresponding weakening in NATO. But this is pure theory, and I will stick to my view that the Russians will not let the Poles off and that they will reach their goal through manipulation and pressure."

ASSEMBLY DEFENSE COMMITTEE VIEWS YPA MODERNIZATION

LD111156 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1331 GMT 10 Feb 81

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Feb (TANJUG)--In the next 5 years, special attention will be paid to the modernization and combat strengthening of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] as well as to the training of security organs and services. As a strike force of the armed forces, the YPA will be trained, both independently and together with Territorial Defense and other subjects of the all-people's defense system, to prevent being surprised and to ensure mobilization and the switch of the armed forces and of society to a state of war. This means the YPA will be fully trained to wage an armed struggle on land, at sea and in the air, under conventional as well as nuclear war conditions. This orientation of the draft social plan of Yugoslavia until 1985 was backed at today's several-hours-long session of the Committee for National Defense of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber. With Mihailo Brajovic in the chair, the delegates pointed out not only the good but also insufficiently clearly defined definitions of the country's draft social plan and they advocated that all-people's defense should acquire the place which truly belonged to it among the planned tasks of society.

Bogoljub Nedeljkovic, member of the Federal Executive Council, as well as YPA officers present, replied to a number of questions put by delegates and linked both with the plans of all-people's defense as well as with the country's development plan in general. One heard, for instance, the question of how to ensure that the country's payment deficit in the next 5 years will not exceed the planned $6 billion, that the harvest will reach 6 million tons of wheat and 12 million tons of maize (Eduard Cencic), or, what will the standard of living of soldiers in the next 5 years be like? (Fadil] Curanoli and officer Gracijan Skrk) On several occasions, the delegates noted that the new plan should not be a reflection of our desires. It must be a realistic planning document, clear and concrete in all its parts.

The YPA 5-year development plan was adopted last month. The question of the standard of living of officers and soldiers has been worked out in detail in this planning document. The basic orientation is that the standard of living of YPA members will be coordinated with the trends of the standard in society. In any case, it was said today, the present level of the standard will be retained and conditions will be created to increase it gradually.

As regards development of the army as such, our policy is clearly defined. Conditions will be created, the plan says, to equip the YPA with modern arms and military equipment by relying more and more on domestic capacities. Along with this, the organizational structure will be improved in line with the introduction of new weapons and equipment and the new doctrine of the use of armed forces.

Territorial Defense will develop and strengthen as a powerful and large-scale part of the unified armed forces. Emphasis will be placed on the organization and expansion of Territorial Defense in local communities, organizations of associated labor and municipalities, on the large-scale participation of the young and women, on increasing the combat readiness of combined units, and on creating all other conditions required for successfully waging armed struggle.

Should the provisions of the new 5-year plan document be realized, the domestic arms and military equipment industry would come to the fore. YPA will equip itself constantly and in a stable manner with arms and equipment produced domestically. Depending on the facilities of society, new capacities for the production of arms and military equipment will be constructed and the existing ones modernized. In all this, orientation toward the maximum use of domestic raw materials and reproduction materials will be maintained.